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'The 'Man in the Street'

(of the B.B.C.)

Talks to Europe



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(of the B.B.C.)
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A Staples Press Company

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Introduction

IT WAS in the disheartening Spring of 1941 that the 'Man in the Street' first started broadcasting to Europe. The exhilarating defiance of 1940 had given place to a mood of dogged but dismal determination. The people of this country had suffered eight months of nightly blitz, and though they had been cheered by Wavell's first victories in Africa, a long road of reverses and disappointments lay ahead. Britain still stood virtually alone when these talks began, and though, one by one, a great company of gallant allies fell in by her side, their entry seemed at first the signal for further defeats. The attempt to go to the aid of the Greeks ended in fiasco. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war was the beginning of a new wave of unbroken victories for the German Army. The entry of the United States brought disaster to the British Empire from a new quarter. Month after month dragged on in which Britain and her allies could do nothing but withstand the blows and buffets of two victorious foes and prepare slowly for their destruction.

With its high standard of news policy and honest reporting, the B.B.C. had little but bad news to carry and our plight must indeed have seemed forlorn to our allies in the occupied countries of Europe—and yet, I think it is true to say, throughout this period the European Service of the B.B.C. kept hope alive throughout Europe by the tone of sober confidence in which it gave straight reporting to even the worst news and its emphasis on those permanent factors which made Allied victory not only possible, but probable, and eventually certain.

This spirit was personified in these talks by the 'Man in the Street.' Throughout the years 1941 to 1944, he broadcast several times a week in the night and morning news bulletins of the European Service of the B.B.C. and his talks, translated into many languages and transmitted at many different hours of the day and night, were heard all over Europe. This was a British voice, representing the view of an ordinary British citizen, not an official voice carrying out instructions from the Government or the Foreign Office. It was representative not in the sense that every man in the street would agree with every word it said – on the contrary, much of it is highly controversial as any voice in a free and democratic country is bound to be – but in the sense that it summed up the general outlook of this country throughout those years – the underlying confidence in ultimate victory, the determination that that victory should be for something positive, and not the purely negative aim of defeating our enemies in the field, and not least, the hatred of the cruelty and wickedness of the Nazis.

These talks, which I have roughly classified under the heads of a diary of the war, the things we are fighting for, the things we are fighting

THE 'MAN IN THE STREET' - TALKS TO EUROPE

against and the people and ideas we are fighting with – represent only a part of the talks actually broadcast, and for reasons of paper economy, even those which have been given here are rarely the verbatim text of the talks as given on the air. I have tried to arrange them in such a way that they make a comprehensive series and require the minimum of explanatory notes. The titles were not, of course, part of the talks as broadcast but have been given simply for reasons of convenience, so that the reader can find his way about. At the end of 1944, the 'Man in the Street' went to the Continent to do work connected with the final chapter of the Battle of Germany and had therefore to discontinue regular broadcasting from London. It was therefore thought a suitable moment to collect and publish these talks so that the general reader could review once again the years through which he has passed, and so that the British reader could read as he has always been able to hear (on the wave-length of the former Welsh Regional Station) one of the voices which have been speaking to the peoples of Europe on his behalf.

THE WIFE OF THE 'MAN IN THE STREET.'

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PART 1

The Unfolding Prospect of Victory



1941

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Haile Selassie's return to Addis Ababa

MAY 6, 1941

Of all the news of this war so far, I think the announcement to-day that the Emperor Haile Selassie has returned in triumph to his capital has given me the deepest satisfaction.

After five years, one wrong done by the men who let loose this war on the world has been righted. One conquest which a dictator boasted was irrevocable has been torn from his bloodstained grasp. One people whom a dictator had condemned to never-ending slavery has been set free.

Part of the New Order which was to last a thousand years has been smashed – after five years.

For four years we in this country were so desperately anxious not to do anything to plunge the world into war, that against our sense of honour, justice and decency, we allowed this wrong to go unrighted. It seemed then, in those blind days of illusion – although, mind you, not to all of us – that to tolerate this outrage was a price worth paying to avoid war.

And then Hitler and Mussolini forced on us the war they had been plotting all along and for which the conquest of Abyssinia was a preparation. They hoped that, unprepared as we were, we should be struck down before we could really start to fight. But we survived – survived to pay a debt of honour to the Abyssinians, to help them with our blood and our sweat to become free men again.

Unprepared, ill-armed, alone and with our allies struck down, we have been able after 18 months of war to free the Abyssinians from the invader. As we grow stronger we shall, one by one, restore the liberty of the other peoples, who Hitler boasts are doomed to slavery for a thousand years.

We have sworn it, and to quote the words of a famous citizen of Finland who said today: 'England's support and friendship, once given, is something you can count on.'

England the goal

MAY 10, 1941

It's a year today since Hitler opened the campaign which, so he said, was to settle in a few weeks the destiny of the world for a thousand years.

Yes, England was the goal. Holland, Belgium and France were to be

overrun with as little loss of time as savagery and ruthlessness could ensure. And then it was to be England's turn. England, after nearly a thousand years of invincibility and inviolability, was at last to be subjected to the humiliation of conquest, the supreme degradation of German occupation.

'There are no more islands' Hitler declared.

Well, that was a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed the Germans have piled up the crimes for which they will have to answer but they have come no closer to victory than they were before they brought murder and rapine to the West.

A year ago today Winston Churchill became Prime Minister of the people who were waiting for him to lead them. England had found her soul and the man, as always before.

And in the grim days and weeks that followed there was never in this country a thought of the possibility of defeat.

Churchill offered us blood and toil, tears and sweat as the price of victory. And Hitler? He promised his people an easy victory before the end of the summer.

We lost our illusions a year ago. Have the Germans lost theirs yet?

Their air force has been decisively defeated in the English skies; their invasion preparations have been smashed; their U-boats have failed to starve us into subjection; their cities, which, before May 10 last year, had never had a real taste of war, have now learnt the meaning of total war. German soldiers who were to have been home when the leaves fell now lie dead in the Balkan plains and valleys, or sweat in the Western desert.

Where will they march next?

Against England, to die in their thousands in a vain attempt to snatch the victory they were not strong enough to win a year ago? Against the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar? Into the wilds of Anatolia or the steppes of Russia?

Wherever they may march, never home to their wives until they return at last, not as conquering heroes, but as the guilt-laden survivors of the greatest defeat in history.

Death in a far-away land or a return home as the remnants of a broken army to a broken country.

That is the prospect that faces the German soldiers on May 10, 1941.

And we ourselves? We, on this May 10, face the prospect Churchill offered us twelve months ago - blood, tears and sweat - and final victory, victory nearer by one year.

A football match and the blitz

MAY 11, 1941, *the morning after the last big bomber attack on London*

Thousands of Londoners and men and women from all over England yesterday watched the football Cup Final in London and then went home to do their jobs as fire-watchers, air raid wardens, ambulance drivers and as other spare time war workers.

The Londoners among them had a busy night.

A good many thousands of these people returned from the football ground to the war factories, to turn out more of the guns and fighter planes which last night blasted 33 German raiders out of the English skies; to turn out more of the bombers which gave Hamburg such a trouncing last night, of the tanks which will one day show that the German Army is not invincible after all, and the ships which knit together the vast and rapidly mobilising military machine of the English-speaking world. . . .

A good football match, with the acrid but pleasant tang of tobacco smoke from a multitude of pipes flavouring the afternoon air; the spontaneous roar or groan of the crowd as one team or the other looked like scoring; and then, when all is over, a pint of good English beer and home to supper, and then? and then?

Well, the night and whatever it may bring. A chance perhaps to strike some small blow against the force that comes in the dark to smash everything which makes life worth living, to play a humble but useful part in defending the way of life we've been working out and improving for centuries, and which we shall go on working out and improving for centuries to come.

Or perhaps the bad luck to 'stop one' and fall out of the fight, leaving it in the safe hands of the others to deal with this periodic and futile attempt to destroy what is indestructible – the determination of men to be masters of their own lives.

I have heard countless men and women say that the only thing that worries them at all is the thought that they may not be 'in at the kill', when the sword of retributive justice forged by the free peoples is at Hitler's throat and an end is made of this man and his abominations once and for all.

Naturally, we all want to be there when we can say to the ordinary folk of Europe 'The nightmare is over. You need never again live in fear of the Boche. Go ahead and refashion your way of life as *you* want it.'

Yes, that's a day worth living for. But it's a day worth dying for, too.

Darlan betrays France

MAY 15, 1941

Tonight I'm going to talk about a deserter. No, not Rudolf Hess, the German who has come over to the enemy's camp because he's sick of the war, but Admiral Darlan, the Frenchman, who apparently thinks his country hasn't had enough of war yet.

I speak with a heavy heart. You see, I'm one of those Englishmen who has been brought up to love France. Thrilled by her history and fascinated by her culture, we have learnt to think of France as a nation which, wherever else her destiny has led her, has always remained true to her great traditions.

We, England and France, grew up together as civilised nations. Like children, in the young days of Europe, we squabbled – but always honourably and chivalrously.

We were rivals and we fought hard but when the black shadow of Germany began to fall across the civilisation we shared, we stood together in its defence.

Shoulder to shoulder we thrust back the menace of barbarism a quarter of a century ago. And then, perhaps because we were still children enough to quarrel, the German shadow once again fell across our threshold.

France was struck down but we vowed by all that was sacred to us that we would fight on until France arose again.

And France, I know, has faith in our vow. It is only a handful of men who have wound their way into power by grace of Hitler, who are faithless.

Darlan, Admiral of France, erstwhile seeming friend and ally, has not disdained to take up a role which even the Nazi Hess could no longer stomach.

It is not the injury that Darlan can do to us that hurts. His aid to Hitler will make no difference to the result of this war. It is the betrayal of the French nation's honour that wounds.

My sympathy tonight goes out to the French people, who have had to stand by helplessly and see this shameful thing done in their name.* In their name Darlan has taken the thirty pieces of silver—counterfeit German silver.

*May 15, 1941. Darlan goes to Germany to meet Hitler. Petain broadcast from Vichy announcing that France had been forced to seek an understanding with Germany and to collaborate both in France and Africa. German 'specialists' use Syrian airfields *en route* for Irak.

Darlan has not only betrayed Britain, the Syrians and the Arab world to the common enemy. No. He has betrayed France.

But no Englishman who has loved France can believe that those Frenchmen who still have arms in their hands will permit their country's name to be dragged through the mud at Hitler's tail.

No Englishman will believe that – until (which God forbid) all hope has gone that Frenchmen will remember their glorious history.

Roosevelt the judge

MAY 28, 1941

... When Roosevelt spoke to his people and the world last night there were no screams and screeches of hate, no epileptic threats to let loose terror on mankind, but a calm, quiet declaration that Hitlerism is so loathsome a thing that it will have to be destroyed.

One doesn't rave and bluster at a poisonous snake. One just knocks it on the head.

And that is what Roosevelt has declared that he intends to do to Nazidom.

Unless the Axis can gain control of the seas, he said, its defeat is certain. The Axis will not, he said, be allowed to gain control of the seas.

Thus, Roosevelt pronounced the death sentence on Naziism and its equivalents.

It is up to Hitler now to go quietly to his doom or to strike out wildly at the nation which has sealed it.

The result will be the same.

Roosevelt the Judge! Hitler the Criminal with a price on his head. The smart gangster, the clever, brilliant, vicious gunman who has lied and murdered his way to success – only to end up as a frightened and cornered malefactor, on whom Roosevelt has quietly passed judgment, saying to Churchill, the policeman: 'Hunt him down; the full weight of the law is behind you.'

And just as the great majestic machinery of British naval power swung into remorseless action to hunt down the *Bismarck*, so now the vast mechanism of Anglo-Saxon might is being set in motion to bring Germany to justice.

The permanent factors

JUNE 3, 1941

The way the news has run today has been very symbolic.

The clash of battle in Crete has ceased to reverberate through the

world, and we can again hear the steady drone of the Royal Air Force bombers over Germany and the rising whirr and hum of America's huge war industry.

Soon there will again be the clamorous din of battle in our ears - in Syria, perhaps, or Libya - and for a time we shall not notice the roar of our giant bombers over Germany and the clang of the hammers in America's shipyards.

But when the next pause in the sharp over-notes of conflict comes that throbbing undertone will be heard again, stronger and more insistent.

In this symphony of war the music of British and American war industry is gathering strength. One day the zoom of our bombers and the mighty pulsation of America's factories will drown the clatter of the panzer divisions as they pursue the mirage of victory in the desert sands, will drown the shrill mouthings of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry.

And then the world will reverberate only with the deafening rhythm of the mightiest war machine the world has ever seen, a machine forged by the hands of two hundred million free people with the vast resources of the whole world at their disposal.

And mingled with this we shall hear the rising murmur of the wronged peoples of Europe. And the Germans will hear this murmur of the gathering storm.

Then above the thunder of the guns and the roar of the bombs and the rushing wind of freedom sweeping again across the world we shall hear the clear trumpet call of total victory over the power of darkness and the powers of evil.

And this tremendous crescendo will drown the whining of the German leaders who themselves called forth this hurricane. It will drown the whimper of the Quislings, who turned against their peoples' friends in their darkest hours.

The storm will sweep across the world and cleanse it. Nothing will stop it until the last fortress has been swept away.

That is what we mean by total victory - victory not only over German militarism but victory over the social conditions which made it possible for naked lust for power to masquerade as the instrument of a New Order. *This* war is going the whole way.

Tradition of victory

JUNE 14, 1941

So it's a year ago today since the Germans entered Paris.

I think that perhaps the English felt it more keenly than the French. *We* weren't so stunned.

It wasn't fear or despair that we felt when we thought of the mechanised hordes pouring down those famous boulevards. It was disgust at the idea of Hitler gloating over the ravished beauties of the lovely city, of Goering swaggering through the looted shops and restaurants, of Himmler creeping about on his slimy cruel errands.

We felt compassion for the French, but we felt no fear for ourselves. Why? Not because we are particularly heroic, as our few admirers would have it. Not because we are especially stupid, as our many detractors pretend. No, just because we have never imagined for a moment that we and what we stand for could be defeated by the Germans and what they stand for.

It means a great deal, you know, to possess a centuries-old tradition of victory.

A year ago the German radio blared out to us - 'The worst has now to come and it finds you admittedly unprepared.'

Well, we got by, as it's said. The worst was pretty bad at times but not bad enough for the Germans' purpose.

As Churchill says, 'The murderous raids on our ports, cities and factories have been powerless to quench the spirit of the British nation.'

Why? Not because we are so tremendously brave. Not because we are unusually insensitive. No, but because once we had decided to fight Germany, it would not have been commonsense to give in. It was the people of Britain who themselves decided to fight in the first place and so it was ridiculous of the Germans to appeal to the people to disown their Government and surrender.

Churchill's marvellous oratory in those dark days wasn't, as some imagined, an attempt to stimulate our flagging spirits. He simply expressed our feelings, which it admittedly needed a Churchill to put into words.

Today we all feel glad and proud to have lived through those days. We also feel very glad to be able to say to the Germans: 'The worst has now to come for you, too!'

We are not a vindictive people. But we are a just people. And there is justice to be done. For one thing, the fate of Paris, a fate worse than bombing, has to be avenged.

Frenchmen have long memories

JUNE 17, 1941

A year ago today Frenchmen broke down and wept when they heard the Hero of Verdun tell them that France must surrender.

They wept to hear Marshal Pétain declare, with a heavy heart (as he said) that France, outnumbered by the enemy and having fulfilled all

her obligations to her allies, must ask for honourable terms as between soldiers.

They wept *then*, but today, when the Marshal again spoke to them, I believe Frenchmen must have clenched their fists in dry-eyed anger.

It cannot be pleasant for a Frenchman to be insulted by a man he trusted. And Pétain insulted his fellow-countrymen today. The great battle for freedom which they fought and – temporarily – lost a year ago he described as a ‘frightful adventure.’

He urged them to accept their present misery and servitude gratefully as an alternative preferable to the bombs and bloodshed of a year ago.

Knowing that in France today the spirit of resistance is rising like a flood tide, Pétain appealed to Frenchmen to remember their defeat of a year ago, to recapture the despair and hopelessness of those days.

‘Frenchmen (he complained), you have short memories.’

No, Monsieur le Maréchal, Frenchmen’s memories are not short enough for you, for Darlan, for Hitler.

Frenchmen’s memories go back far enough to remember *who* is France’s real enemy, and *who* are France’s real friends. Their memories are long enough to know that for Frenchmen and Englishmen, who died side by side 25 years ago, to be killing each other in Syria today at Darlan’s orders is treason to both our nations.

Their memories are long enough to remember that a quarter of a century ago Germany, after victories as brilliant as any in this war, went down in utter defeat before the arms of Britain and France.

Frenchmen’s memories are long enough to remember that a year ago the French Quislings were declaring that Britain had relied on France to fight for her and, without France, could not last a month. Yes, they remember that imminent collapse of Britain declared a year ago to be inevitable within a few weeks.

And today, Frenchmen look up and they see the air force of that broken, pitiable England sweeping majestically across the skies the Germans pretend to control.

Frenchmen have long enough memories to recall how they were betrayed and tricked into laying down their arms by the assertion that Britain would not and could not fight on alone.

And there is plenty more they will remember. It would be better for the Men of Vichy if French memories *were* short.

Blood is thicker than propaganda

JUNE 29, 1941

It has been a remarkable day today, both for what *has* happened and what has *not* happened.

One thing that *has* happened has been the celebration in the Cathedral and all the Churches of Moscow of a service of intercession for the victory of the Russian troops, and a message from the Acting Patriarch of the Russian Church, blessing all who defend the nation's frontiers.

It seems that blood is a great deal thicker than propaganda, that Russians, Orthodox or Communist, are above all Russians and that Hitler has succeeded in creating a national unity in Russia which ten days ago would have seemed inconceivable.

One thing that has *not* happened is that the Pope, in his broadcast to the world, did not bless the arms of Adolf, the Anti-Christ, as the Champion of Christendom.

Once again it seems that blood – in this case the blood of Christians shed by Hitler – is a great deal thicker than propaganda. The blood of the Catholic Poles and the Orthodox Jugoslavs and Greeks, the blood of the Dutch, Catholic and Protestant, of the Catholic Belgians, the Protestant Norwegians, the Catholics and Protestants of France, and, not least, of the British, both Protestant and Catholic, all this blood flows between Adolf Hitler and his now most cherished aim – to be accepted by the world as the enemy only of godless Bolshevism.

Another thing that *has* happened today has been the issue of a sheaf of German communiqués on the fighting on the Eastern Front. But another thing that has *not* happened has been the materialisation of those startling successes which it was promised these communiqués would announce. . . .

In conclusion, it may be said that all the things the Germans hoped *would* happen have *not* happened today and many of the things they most hoped would *not* happen *have* happened.

There is a mightier Power than Hitler's which orders these things.

The Nazis adopt the V sign

JULY 19, 1941

The conquered, oppressed, disarmed and pillaged peoples of Europe have inflicted a crushing defeat on their conquerors and oppressors.

They have forced the Germans into the ridiculous position of being compelled to adopt as their own the symbol of Europe's resistance, the 'V' sign.

There is nothing very new in this tactic. The Germans have always been ready to filch any symbol or insignia which represented something dangerous to them. At various times they have sought to disguise themselves under the sign of the hammer and sickle, as champions of the proletariat against capitalism and under the sign of the True Cross as Crusaders against Bolshevism.

And now the Nazis have done it again. Frightened by the strength of the European resistance which has been crystallising round the 'V' sign and the 'V' sound, they have decided in desperation to pretend that this symbol stands for a *German* victory, for freedom on the Nazi model.

And now the 'V' sound in morse and the Beethoven Fifth Symphony (the 'V' Symphony of victory and freedom from tyranny) is to be heard on the German-controlled radio.

This is a victory for the peoples of Europe, who have *dictated* this move to the Germans. The Nazis could not suppress the 'V' so they have been compelled to adopt the hollow pretence that it is theirs.

By doing this they deceive no one and achieve nothing. They merely give the peoples of Europe a good laugh, a sense of power and a free hand to go full steam ahead with 'V' demonstrations, which have received the official blessing of authorities not strong enough to suppress them.

The Germans can no longer punish anyone who writes up or taps out a 'V' for *officially* it is a pro-German demonstration.

It is a capitulation by the Germans to European public opinion – nothing less.

Soon, perhaps, the Germans will be forced to pretend that the letters R.A.F. stand for the Luftwaffe, that the Cross of Lorraine is a new type of Swastika, that Queen Wilhelmina's portrait is really that of Hitler, that King Haakon's photograph is one of Goering, in younger and slimmer days, and that the Czechoslovak slogan 'Truth prevails' is Goebbels' family motto.

Eventually the Germans will, perhaps, be driven to pretending that they aren't Germans at all, that there never was a Third Reich, that Hitler's war was a myth, that Warsaw, Rotterdam and Belgrade were struck down by earthquakes and that hundreds of thousands of women and children murdered by the German Air Force all over Europe were really the victims of pestilence. . . .

Japan declares herself

JULY 23, 1941

So Japan is on the move now,* and the ordinary citizen over here breathes a sigh of relief at the end of another illusion, the illusion that the predatory leopard of Fascist militarism can be induced by polite diplomacy to change its spots.

* July 23, 1941. Japan demands bases in Indo-China 'as a temporary measure to defend Indo-China against the de Gaullists, Chinese and British.'

Japan's move to the South is of no immediate assistance to Germany (who wanted her to sink her teeth in Russia's back) but it is nevertheless a threat to us, a move against Singapore. All the same the ordinary Englishman, who has long recognised Japan as his enemy – very willing to wound though rather afraid to strike – is glad to see the enemy come out into the open. He is glad to see the end of the fiction that it is possible to regard as neutral a Power that has rivalled Germany in its hideous cruelty to peaceful and inoffensive neighbours.

This world war is rapidly entering its final and inevitable phase, in which the peoples fighting for freedom, peace, justice and the right to happiness stand opposed in a war to the death to the Fascist dictatorships fighting for enslavement, everlasting war, arbitrary tyranny and the misery of the masses.

Russia has taken her stand alongside Britain, China, the United States and the conquered peoples who are fighting with what means they have for their liberty. Japan and Vichy have taken their stand with the aggressors, the Fascist rulers of Germany and Italy.

There are still a few Powers which have yet to make their choice. They will not escape. As Churchill said many months ago (when half a dozen States which are now enslaved were clinging to the fence) 'There can be no neutrals in this war.'

Before it ends – before it *can* end in any true peace – everyone must make his choice; the non-belligerent Fascist rulers must either throw in their lot with Hitler in a desperate bid to make the world safe for Fascism or capitulate to their own peoples; the neutral non-Fascist governments will be compelled to defend themselves against the Nazi giant, lashing out in its death throes, or to submit shamefully to becoming accomplices of the enemy of mankind.

The man in the street in England has long known who are his friends and who his foes. He feels nothing but relief when a known foe declares himself, as Japan has now done.

Hitler's grand design for 1941 fails

JULY 28, 1941

Today has been the 37th day of Hitler's eastern offensive. It was on the 38th day of the western offensive, over a year ago, that the French armies were ordered to cease fire. But how different is the situation in this eastern Armageddon. Thirty-seven days of slaughter have gone by and Hitler has achieved not one of his primary goals.

The Russian campaign, which Hitler himself described as merely a preliminary to the invasion of Britain, has in fact made it certain that

the invasion attempt will again have to be postponed. It is already the 209th day of the year in which Hitler promised his people final victory.

One can now see the grand design of this year's German offensive. One can see how at every point it has broken down. The spring offensive which Hitler announced with such obvious gusto last March should have opened with the breaking of Britain's Atlantic life-line. The second stage of Hitler's grand design was, after conquering the Balkans, to march through Syria, Libya and Iraq and take Egypt. Turkey would then be compelled to fall into line and make possible a dual German attack on Russia from the west and from the south. Then would follow the third stage. A six weeks campaign to culminate by August 1st with Stalin's capitulation. Then, with all Europe occupied, with the Mediterranean free of British influence, with the Soviet subjected, Hitler planned to defeat Britain either by direct assault or through specious terms of peace.

Such was the grand strategy for 1941, the year of final victory. But from the first the plan broke down. Already by May the attempt to cut the Atlantic life-line had failed and intensified American assistance to Britain.

In the Near East, German machinations in Iraq and Syria failed and the panzer divisions were halted on the Egyptian frontier. Sharper setbacks followed in quick succession. The blitzkrieg against Russia neither smashed the Red Army nor swung British and American opinion in favour of the Reich. Instead it produced a Soviet-British alliance, the Royal Air Force battering of Western Germany, and the American occupation of Iceland.

Seldom can a dictator have fallen more suddenly from the dizzy heights of success. Six months ago Britain was fighting almost alone. Today Germany is desperately embarrassed by a war on two fronts and confronted by an alliance of the Three World Powers. In this perspective, the flight of Rudolf Hess to England has a new significance. He knew every detail of Hitler's grand design, and most important still, foresaw its doom - a doom which cannot for long be concealed from the German people.

A message to the Russian people

AUGUST 1, 1942

Tonight I just want to send, on behalf of the men in the street (and the women in the street) of England a tribute to the men and women in the street of Russia.

We are *thrilled* by the heroic resistance of the Russian people. *We*, the

simple people of England, never believed those *clever* experts who said that Russia would collapse in a few weeks, that Quislings would spring up like mushrooms on Russian soil, that Russians would be stupid enough to prefer Nazi nihilism to their own way of life.

No, we never believed *that*. We had a fairly clear idea that the Russian Workers' Republic would not be such an easy nut to crack as some of the nations which Hitler's armies overran so easily because they had previously been rotted by the treachery or cowardice of their rulers.

The Russian people today are withstanding the full force of the murderous German onslaught. They are a long way from us and there is little we can do directly to help them.

But we are doing all we can. We are striking at Germany in the West and in the North. We are vigilant and active on her Middle Eastern flank. We are watching her Japanese ally in the Far East and ready to intervene in Tokio's schemes. We are keeping open the seas across which America is sending to the Allies the tools of victory.

More than that, *we* blunted the German sword which is now slashing at the Russian people. For a whole year, we stood virtually alone against Hitler, and in that interval we took the edge off his weapons.

In counting the aid we have given to the Russian people the world must remember that last year we, too, knew how to push resistance to extremities. Churchill, before Stalin, called on his people to scorch the earth rather than submit.

We have destroyed thousands of planes which might otherwise have been hurled against Russia. Our sailors, soldiers and airmen have toiled and fought incessantly for many months to weaken the blow which Hitler has now aimed at Russia. . . .

And we believed (or most of us did) that sooner or later the Russian people would be fighting by our side And now we, the British people and the Russian people are in the fight together.

We are in good heart.

First symptom of German defeat

AUGUST 7, 1941

So Hitler wants a truce, a breathing-space! He wants to call off the war with Britain until he has finished his Russian campaign and had time to repair his battered war-machine and tune it up for new devilry.

The reports of his peace terms received today from Ankara are clearly authentic. Hitler says that if we stop the bombing of his cities and the sinking of his ships he'll let us keep our Empire.

Well, we'll keep our Empire *and* go on with the bombing.

Hitler says that if we'll call off the crushing pressure of the blockade, he'll clear his troops out of Western Europe.

Well, we'll keep on with the blockade *and* we'll clear his troops out of Western Europe – and Eastern Europe as well. In fact, we won't have any German troops anywhere.

It's good to know that our efforts are damaging Germany so much that she's very anxious for us to stop them. It's the best proof we've got that we are really helping our Russian allies.

It's good to know that the Russians are giving the Germans such a hammering that they're prepared at least to postpone the conquest of England.

You wouldn't think it from the German communiqués. If you believed only half of *them* you would think that nothing stood between the Germans and Moscow but a disorganised and defeated rabble, bereft of tanks and 'planes and with nearly a 100 per cent. of its front-line fighting strength killed, wounded or captured. You would imagine that in a few days Stalin would be in the position of Pétain and within a few weeks the Germans would be announcing the victorious termination of a great battle of annihilation at London.

But evidently not. Even Hitler thinks his communiqués paint an unduly rosy picture of Germany's prospects and that it would be useful to him to have a period of repose and recuperation before tackling us.

It might be remarked that Hitler is now saying 'Give me the time and I will finish the job.'

He won't get the time. We know our Germans now. We know that they would not keep the peace if they got it, that any settlement would be denounced by them as an intolerable dictate as soon as it seemed safe to do so.

We know that the only peaceful German is a disarmed German and we know that the talk of peace now is merely a sign that German arms are becoming rather blunt and worn out.

It was the same in the last war. When the Germans began to realise that they couldn't win they started hawking peace offers round the world. It was the first symptom of the German defeat. And so it is today

Laval shot

AUGUST 27, 1941

So Pierre Laval has got what has been coming to him for a long time.

He went to Versailles to recruit French workers to fight for Hitler against the Russian people and he got a bullet in his stomach for an answer.

It was a good answer. Laval has had a long run for his money. He has double-crossed his country's allies and his own political colleagues. He has dragged France's name through the mud and has made French politics stink, and no decent person will pity him in his pain.

He has stood by while German firing squads have shot Frenchmen for remaining loyal to their country's great traditions. He was trying to send Frenchmen to die in Russia fighting for the Boches against their heroic Russian fellow-workers. He has prospered on the blood and tears of his own countrymen and grown rich with the Judas money received for betraying his country's friends.

The French people pronounced their verdict on him long ago. Now one of them, a mere stripling of 20, has sacrificed himself to carry it out.

The name of Collette, the youth who has been arrested for attempting to wipe out the stain on his nation's fair fame, will be honoured among the peoples of Europe.

Let Hitler's recruiting sergeants in other countries take heed when they seek to provide their master with the promised levy of cannon fodder.

There are other Collettes, who, like him, have joined the volunteers against Russia with the fixed intention of using their arms not against the people of Russia, but against the traitors who are buying their way into Hitler's New Plutocracy with the blood of their fellow-countrymen.

Justice has not been bludgeoned to death in Europe. She still has her devoted servants, ready to give their own lives in her cause.

Justice (to quote Churchill) awaits 'all representatives of that vile race of Quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow-countrymen and against the lands of their birth.'

'These Quislings (said our Prime Minister), like the Nazi leaders themselves, will, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunal.'

The shots that rang out in Versailles today will ring round the world, for they were shots fired against the Germans by a Frenchman in France.

There will be cold fear tonight in the hearts of the Laval of Europe, for there are Collettes in all lands, under many different sounding names. . . .

Russian Quislings lament

AUGUST 28, 1941

Quislings are having a bad time these days, and the Russian Quislings are no exception. These Russian Quislings are not *inside* Russia. Stalin

dealt with his Fifth Column in good time. No, the Russian jackals are in the proper place for them - Berlin, where they emigrated many years ago when the Russian people took over their own country. •

And they are disillusioned and saddened men. Their dream of going back to Russia to batten on the enslavement of the mass of their fellow-country men have been fading rapidly during the past weeks.

They began with high hopes.

These Russian Quislings looked round Europe and saw that everywhere the Germans had conquered, local traitors were cashing in on their own countries' debasement, and were living in luxury on the wages received for the betrayal of their own peoples.

The price for selling a nation, they saw, stood high and, although they couldn't sell Russia from inside, they expected to be able to make a good thing out of helping to keep her enslaved after the conquest.

Well, it didn't work out that way, and now the Russian Quislings, safe (or fairly safe) in Berlin are complaining bitterly because the Russian people have upset their plans.

This is what the Russian Quislings' newspaper, published in Berlin, writes: 'We Russian emigrants believed that the Old Czarist Russia, which emigrated with us, still existed. We had nourished the illusion that many of us would occupy high positions in a newly constructed Czarist Russia, that we would become lieutenants, ministers, generals, diplomats, land and factory owners. All this has shown itself to be a deceptive dream. The first months of the German war against Russia have already shown that the Russia we dreamed of no longer exists. A moral catastrophe has occurred. The Russian people has not rebelled against Bolshevism, but turns itself with brute fanaticism against those who would free it'

A catastrophe has occurred! A catastrophe for everyone who imagined that the old order would be resurrected, that the world of the future would belong to generals, diplomats, landowners and factory owners.

The Russian people have shattered that nice little dream. Neither Hitler nor anyone else will bring that world back to life, that world which bred such misery that the people were ready to hand themselves over to dictators in the desperate hope that they would rescue them - only to find that the dictators had sold them to a New Plutocracy, in which the worst elements of the Old Order continued to prosper.

Let the Russian relics of the Old Order lament the fading of their dream of the New Order which would be just like the Old only even more profitable. . . .

The front held together by ships

SEPTEMBER 9, 1941

You have heard how Churchill today described the Allied front as a great crescent sweeping from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. But you may not have quite understood how that front, which crosses seas and oceans – vast wastes of water – is held together.

Well, it is held together – by ships.

And in those ships, which link the chain which is throttling Hitler, are men.

Britons, Americans, Poles, Frenchmen, Norwegians, Dutchmen, Danes, Greeks, Belgians and Jugoslavs – sailors all, bound together by the ties which bind all men who go down to the sea in ships.

Great are their hardships, unbounded is their courage and self-sacrifice.

Let anyone in Europe who finds intolerable the privations forced upon him by the conquering Hun, think upon the ordeal of the men who sail in small ships in freezing Arctic waters, the perils and hardships of the men who go down below the sea in submarines, the endurance and fortitude of the men who brave the dangers of the Mediterranean and the gay defiance of the crews who make sport of the lurking terrors of the huge Atlantic.

Most of us in this country have friends or relations at sea, and we swell with pride when we hear of their doings. We should like you in Europe to share that pride. And we should like you in Europe to help our sailors in their task of throttling Hitler by going slow in the workshops of the German war machine.

Pay a tribute to the seamen who have died by going as slow as you can in producing the murderous weapons which have killed them. Their widows and orphans will be grateful to you.

The madness of the brave

SEPTEMBER 16, 1941

Tonight we in London have received a message from Leningrad in reply to one which we sent to that gallant city a few days ago.

We are proud to call the brave people of Leningrad our friends and comrades and I want to send this greeting to them on behalf of the simple people of Great Britain.

A year ago today Dr. Goebbels said, 'The British are defeated but they don't know it yet.'

That was a year ago. Since then we have killed thousands of Germans, destroyed hundreds of their tanks, and planes, and sunk many dozens of their ships.

On July 13th the German official news agency declared that victory over Russia was secured, and that Leningrad was on the point of falling.

That was eight weeks ago.

Since then you in Leningrad have killed hundreds of thousands of Germans, smashed thousands of their tanks, and clawed hundreds of their planes out of your sky.

Today we are proud to know that some of our young airmen who didn't know they were beaten a year ago, are fighting as comrades of your heroes who did not know they were beaten eight weeks ago.

'The madness of the brave is the wisdom of the world.'

That is the saying of your great Maxim Gorki. The Socialist Youth of Sweden have taken it as their motto. It is a good slogan for the youth of Europe. It is the slogan under which we shall conquer.

It was the madness of the brave which allowed a few score British airmen to shatter the masses of Germany's air fleet last autumn. It was the madness of the brave which enabled the people of London to defeat the terror by night last winter.

It was the madness of the brave which sent tiny British forces to victory over Mussolini's great African armies.

It was the madness of the brave which made the Greeks and Yugoslavs challenge the German Colossus in the spring and which enables them to proclaim proudly today 'To be vanquished and still not to surrender - that is Victory.'

It was the madness of the brave which inspired young Paul Collette to redeem the honour of his country by shooting down the traitors who sold that honour - traitors who should have been shot before they could betray their nation.

It was the madness of the brave which steeled the Norwegian martyrs to strike for the rights of the workers.

It was the madness of the brave, the highest wisdom, which led your engineers to blow up their own beloved Dnieperstroï Dam. The din of that vast explosion has echoed round the globe, sounding a tocsin to the peoples of the world, to awake and display a like madness.

It is the madness of the brave which keeps you, our Leningrad comrades, dauntless and unconquered eight weeks after the enemy - basing his expectations on his experience of the sane and timid - has announced your doom.

It is the madness of the brave which fires your brothers in Odessa and Kiev to turn the approaches of their cities into gigantic cemeteries for the Fascist invaders.

What can Hitler do against the madness of the common people who

refuse to accept the verdict of those who proclaim them already defeated?

Hold on, Leningrad. We, your British comrades in arms, will send you all the aid in our power – even if we strip ourselves of our own material, even to what may seem the point of madness.

Hold on, Leningrad, and you also citizens of Odessa and Kiev! A world which has learnt to abandon the timid caution of the over-sane will see that your courage is rewarded.

Hold on!

We have a rendezvous with the Germans in Asia Minor

SEPTEMBER 20, 1941

The news from the Russian Front *sounds* pretty bad.* The Germans, as *always*, are advancing, and they are capturing places.

Well, they did the same last year – much faster. They advanced like lightning and they captured everything – and what was the result? They came up against the British and they came to a stop.

They couldn't get any further *this* way. So they went the other way – against Egypt. And there we stopped them again.

So they had a go at Iraq, and Syria, and we stopped them *there, too*.

So then the Germans decided that, as there was no other direction in which they could attack they had better invade Russia; sweep through to the Caucasus and drive us out of the Middle East from there.

Unfortunately for the Germans, the Russian armies have put up such a heroic and skilful resistance that the dash to the Caucasus became a crawl. And so, if the Germans ever reach the Caucasus they will once more come up against the British.

It is *there*, in the Middle East, that we can best help our heroic allies.

And it is there that we and our Russian comrades will start to roll back the German armies.

Waterloo will be fought in the East this time. So don't take too much notice of the German successes in remote places that don't matter.

We have a rendezvous with the German army – somewhere in Asia Minor.

*September 20, 1941.—Battles for Smolensk and Leningrad in progress. Kiev fell on September 19.

Heydrich goes to Prague

SEPTEMBER 27, 1941

The Czechs have been paid a great compliment. Heydrich is always sent to places where the situation seems most dangerous for the Nazis.

He has just been in Norway and his hands are still wet with the blood of the martyrs, Hansteen and Wickstroem, whom he had shot to show the Norwegian workers that they have no rights any more.

He shot Hansteen and Wickstroem but he has not been able to do the job set him in Norway – the crushing of Norwegian resistance to the oppressors. And with his work still uncompleted he has been hustled off to Prague. Perhaps he will order some executions there too and add some Czech workers' names to the roll of honour which we and the representatives of the peoples of Europe are keeping here in London. They will not go unavenged.

But whatever he may do, Heydrich, the loose-living vicious sadist who today represents the German people in Europe, will not destroy the Czechs' determination to do all they can to bring down the filthy tyranny of which they were the first non-German victims.

Before he has been able to accomplish anything Heydrich will be wanted somewhere else – in Paris, where the guillotine and the firing squad have already been at work for weeks, in Brussels, where they shot 20 patriots in cold blood today, in Amsterdam perhaps, or in Warsaw again, or Belgrade. Perhaps he will be wanted in Bucharest, Sofia or Budapest where the Quislings are finding it ever harder to keep the people quiet. Maybe Heydrich will be needed before long in Rome, even in Hamburg or Berlin.

There is great competition in Europe today to be honoured by a visit from Heydrich. He presents rather a ridiculous spectacle really, scurrying round Europe from capital to capital, vainly seeking to stifle the flames of resistance which are leaping up in all directions.

Look behind you in Norway, Heydrich! The fire is still alight there. Look over your shoulder at France, Heydrich! There's a pretty blaze there too!

You can't quench the fires, Heydrich. For if you go too far with your reprisals you will stop work in the war factories altogether. The workers will work at their own speed, Heydrich, and you cannot do anything about it for fear that they may stop work completely.

Supposing that happened, Heydrich. What would become of the war machine then?

I am glad I am not in your shoes, Herr Gestapo Chief Heydrich.

A major German defeat

SEPTEMBER 30, 1941

The reign of terror now instituted all over Europe is a major German defeat. It proves that the peoples of the Continent have vomited out the New Order which Hitler tried to force down their throats. They prefer to be shot to swallowing it, just as we gritted our teeth and took a dose of bombing rather than a dose of Hitlerism.

The fact that Europe has spat out the New Order makes two things perfectly clear. First, Germany cannot win the war. Secondly, Europe knows it and has full faith in our victory.

The Germans cannot hold Europe down by sheer naked force indefinitely and at the same time fight two great world powers fully backed by a third. The peoples of Europe will never submit while we and the Russians remain in the field – and we shall remain in the field until Hitlerite Germany has been overthrown.

Not only shall we remain in the field but we shall achieve a military superiority which will smash the German army. . . .

When and where remains our secret. We and not Hitler, shall choose the date and the battlefields on which the final blows will be struck.

Until then Europe's V army will hold fast, its teeth clenched against the poison which the Hun seeks to force down its throat and ready to strike from within when we strike from without.

Moscow need not despair

OCTOBER 16, 1941

In London we watch the terrific drama at Moscow with the most profound admiration for the indomitable courage of our great Russian allies. And we watch it with deep sympathy for our Russian comrades, and with complete confidence.

With sympathy because we too have seen the great German Jugger-naut rolling towards us, it seemed irresistibly. We too have waited in agony to know whether our army, declared encircled and annihilated, would extricate itself from its peril.

We, too, know full well what it feels like to watch our brothers, sons and fathers fighting against crushing odds, to hear bad news day after day, and to expect worse, to realise that the peril is extreme and our national existence at stake.

We have been through it all, even the bombardment of our capital. Indeed, we have been through even worse things than the Russians now

have to face – for we have seen an ally lay down her arms in the midst of the struggle, a thing the Russians will never have to endure. We have looked across the Atlantic for aid and found that our friends, though willing enough to help, could give us little more than moral assistance – a very different story from today when American planes, tanks and guns are pouring across the seas.

We have seen our *last* army disorganised and deprived of its equipment, our only factories subjected to bombardment. In the summer of 1940 we stood alone virtually without an army and with an industry ill prepared for war.

Yes, we know what it is like to stare disaster in the face. We know it better than any other nation has known it and still survived or ever will know it and still survive.

That is why we watch the drama at Moscow not only with admiration and sympathy but with serene confidence. However that great battle ends Russia will not have to face a peril so extreme as that which we faced and overcame.

She may lose all the industrial resources of her Western territories, as we lost all the industrial resources of Western Europe when we were compelled to rely on the industries behind our Ural mountains, the English Channel. But Russia has not only the vast war potential of her interior, guarded by distances and mountains far more formidable than our narrow strip of protecting water, but she has powerful friends able and resolved to make good her losses. . . .

We, who saw the German Juggernaut stop short of final victory in the West, when it seemed to our jubilant foes and even to our friends that nothing could stop it, can feel no doubts that what one little island could do alone will be done by the vast Soviet Union with the help of the British Empire, now mobilised for war, and the United States, with the giant strength which she is just beginning to exert.

The peoples of Europe need have no fear. Never again will they stand in such peril of losing their liberties for ever as they stood last year. In those days the conquest of one capital city and of an island of a few hundred square miles would have meant irremedial disaster. Today the conquest of a capital city and many thousands of square miles of the huge Russian State cannot bring Germany victory.

Let Europe's peoples mourn only for the brave dead of Moscow. They need not mourn their hopes for they live and wax in strength.

Moscow is playing its part in nourishing those hopes and burying the fond dreams of the Germans – dreams which are in the grave as surely as the thousands of Hitler's picked troops who have fallen and will fall in front of Russia's capital.

Gort's despatches

OCTOBER 18, 1941

Tonight I feel very humble. And yet I feel very proud.

I have been reading the despatches of General Lord Gort, describing the Battle of Flanders.

I feel humble because I have learned how completely we, the citizens of Britain, were responsible for the disaster in the West last year. I feel proud because I know that our soldiers at least did their duty and because since last summer we have atoned, are atoning and shall atone for that calamity.

Our crime was stupidity and apathy. We stupidly elected a Government which led us resolutely to the brink of national destruction and apathetically we continued to allow that Government to control our destinies even when the dullest of us must have realised that we were flirting with catastrophe.

Our crime was that we continued to tolerate a Government which, after having committed the supreme folly of believing that it was possible to live in peace with the Third Reich, was guilty of the utter dereliction of duty of sending to the western front an army which was inadequately equipped in every department of modern warfare.

That is why I feel humble tonight.

And this is why I feel proud.

From Lord Gort's quiet and dry description one thing stands out: the British Army did everything it was asked to do – and a great deal more which it was not asked to do and could hardly have been expected to attempt.

These despatches are the most convincing and crushing reply to the beastly German lie that we betrayed our allies and left them to do the fighting.

The British Army went without hesitation to the aid of the Belgians, whose Government had up to the last moment not only refused to collaborate in any way but also neglected the most elementary precautions. The British Army obeyed loyally and promptly every order it received from the French High Command although many of these orders were conflicting and contradictory.

The British Army killed lots of Germans. With both its flanks exposed by the capitulation of the Belgian Army on its left and the collapse of the French armies on its right, the British Army fought on, at first in an attempt to restore the French front and only as a last desperate resort to get back to that true and tested friend of the British race, the sea.

The British Army was the first of those armies – with which we are now so familiar – which, encircled in a steel ring and annihilated went

on killing Germans, broke through and set to work to prepare to kill more Germans.

I am proud to belong to a nation which can produce such an army, just as I am humble to belong to a nation which could tolerate such a Government as that which sent our young men into such a hopeless hell.

One day the Germans will atone for their despicable slander upon the soldiers of Britain, who whatever their lack of equipment, did not lack the spirit which has carried their ancestors to victory in every war which has been forced on them.

Trafalgar day

OCTOBER 20, 1941

We are on the eve of a date which ranks very high in our history because we are a race which looks to the sea, above all, for its victories.

One hundred and thirty-six years ago we won a great victory at sea. The Battle of Trafalgar.

It wasn't the final annihilating victory – such as Hitler claims every week-end – and it took us 10 years after that to clinch it and end the tyranny of the Napoleonic dictatorship.

Nevertheless it was *the* decisive victory. After Trafalgar the result of the war was not in doubt because Britain was safe from invasion and there could be no further challenge to our supremacy at sea.

After the battle at sea Napoleon had to go *east* to Moscow, where he met his fate.

Hitler started this war *after* his Trafalgar. That is to say, he *never* had a fleet capable of challenging us. That is why he had to go *east* to Moscow in search of a way out.

At the moment it is too early to say what will be the outcome of his adventure, but, on the eve of Trafalgar Day, I would like to repeat an extract from a letter which Nelson, the Victor of Trafalgar, wrote, just before that battle, to Lord Cornwallis, who first taught him how to fight. This is what Nelson wrote:

'We can always beat the enemy if we fight him long enough; some people often imagine that it is more difficult to get at the enemy than it really is; people do not know what they can do until they try; it is always to err on the *right* side to fight.'

This is the foundation of Nelson's method and spirit as he expressed it in his favourite signal 'Engage the enemy more closely,' and it is more than ever the spirit of the British Navy and the British peoples today.

We can always beat the enemy if we fight him long enough! And, believe me, we shall fight him long enough!

The entente is born again

OCTOBER 25, 1941

Germany has been compelled by the French people to recognise that France is at war with her again.

Now indeed we and the French are comrades in arms once more. Our men and women are dying together in the same cause just as they did before.

The people of France have repudiated the Armistice made in their name but not with their consent. The capitulation is washed out in the blood of French patriots.*

Torn to shreds is the veil of collaboration behind which the traitors sought to hide their treachery, that shroud which Hitler's agents so sedulously sewed for France's honour and the loyal friendship of the French and British peoples.

We, the common people of England, clasp hands again with the common people of France, who, like us, prefer to die rather than to submit.

We must fight with different weapons and with different tactics and strategy but it is the same war. The Entente is born again.

Nazi methods fail in France

OCTOBER 27, 1941

Terrorism has failed!

Bribery and corruption have failed!

The twin pillars of Nazi success have been knocked away by the steadfast loyalty of the people of France.

The Germans, faced with the rising resistance of the French, tried the blood bath method. There were executions by the score.

It was the kind of method that worked all right in Germany. The German people were easily cowed by unbridled violence. But it didn't work in France. The French people have stronger stomachs than the Germans.

Having tried, without success, the terroristic methods which brought them to office and consolidated their power in Germany, the Nazis resorted to the only other weapon in their armoury—that of bribery and corruption.

*October 25, 1941. First mass shooting of hostages in France. 50 French hostages shot at Bordeaux. 100 more awaiting execution at Nantes. De Gaulle calls a five minute strike for October 31 at 4 p.m.

They offered the release of prisoners of war related to anyone who gave information leading to the arrest of French patriots. There were no French informers.

Terrorism and corruption having failed, what were the Germans to do?

They tried mercy. Gen. Stuepnagel suspended the execution of hostages in the hope that gratitude would bring forth the informers he wanted.

But why should the French people pay for the right of their fellow patriots to live?

There will be no French informers.

Gen. Stuepnagel has joined Gen. von Bock, the besieger of Moscow, and Gen. von Leeb, the besieger of Leningrad, in the ranks of the German war lords who have found that resistance carried to extremities destroys the Nazi formula for victory.

They learnt this summer that no amount of brutal force and unbridled nerve warfare would break the resistance of Russia.

Tonight the Allies hail the first great victory of the new France, which has risen from the ashes of the Old France which her leaders betrayed last year.

Tribute to Segerstedt

NOVEMBER 1, 1941

I want to pay tribute tonight to a brave man, and a great and good man, a man who has not been afraid to face the truth and to speak it, a man with clear eyes, a keen brain and a stout heart. A man who has the qualities of compassion and indignation, pity and wrath. A man who has never feared to defend Right and denounce Evil.

He is Prof. Torgny Segerstedt, editor of the Swedish newspaper *Goteborgs Handels Och Sjöfarstidning*, who today celebrates his 65th birthday.

We understand each other, the Swedish Professor Segerstedt and the British man in the street. This is what he said as long ago as 1933 at a public meeting in Stockholm:

'I do not pity the generation that is called on to defend all that is noble and sacred in life. We are heading for a struggle that will embrace the whole world. There is no room for spectators in this arena. Each one must find his place on one side or other of the front for or against Western civilisation, for or against Asiatic despotism, for or against liberty, equality and fraternity.'

'I do not pity the generation that is called on to defend all that is noble and sacred in life,' said Segerstedt.

And, indeed, we have the privilege to man the defences of civilisation.

We have no pity for ourselves or our comrades and we have no pity for the enemy. We reserve our pity for the spectators, for those who are foolish enough or contemptible enough to imagine that they will never have to find their places on one side or other of the front, to believe that this war can end in a compromise and need not be fought out to a finish.

We pity them because they are either imbeciles, cowards or Nazis in disguise. Imbeciles and cowards are always pitiable and anyone with Nazi leanings is to be pitied in the world which we shall make. . . .

But Segerstedt of Sweden we greet proudly as a comrade who has suffered for his convictions but has always preserved his honour and his integrity.

It is thanks to the fearless teaching of men of his kind that Hitler did not succeed in murdering civilisation in its sleep.

Hitler's mistake was in starting the war

NOVEMBER 2, 1941

The Russian writer Sholokhov tells today of an interview which he has had with a German prisoner on the Eastern Front. The German, Gefreite Fritz Berkmann, said he was opposed to the war with Russia because Hitler had made a mistake in biting off more than he could chew.

No doubt Berkmann, like any other German, would have heartily approved of this assault on a neighbour if Russia had, as it was believed, been a weak and easy victim. And no doubt Berkmann and his fellows have only now begun to realise that this war is a mistake on Germany's part. The bludgeoning of Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Yugoslavia and Greece was, of course, a very sensible and commendable action on the Fuehrer's part.

The indiscriminate bombing from a safe height of the women and children of Britain was also, of course, a highly praiseworthy move by the Fuehrer.

It was only the attack on Russia that was a mistake, because in that case Germany has herself got hurt – and badly hurt.

Well, Herr Berkmann has no reason to be so surprised and injured about it. He ought to have known a long time ago that it had got to happen.

As soon as Hitler let loose his tanks and bombers against the Poles it was inevitable that sooner or later Berkmann and his comrades would be sent along the bloody road to Moscow, just as it was inevitable when

Napoleon set out to conquer the world that his soldiers would have to tread the same fateful road.

You see, anyone who wants to conquer the world must first conquer Russia as well as Britain, for the Russians are no more prepared than the British to lie down and surrender.

So directly Hitler began his war with his attack on Poland, it was certain that sooner or later he would have to fight Russia. He hoped that Britain and France wouldn't fight and that he would be able to go straight from Warsaw to Moscow, tearing up his pact with the Soviet when it was a few weeks instead of nearly two years old. But that didn't come off. He had to turn west and remove the threat of the French and British armies which he couldn't afford to leave to gather strength in his rear while he fought Russia. And that didn't quite come off because Britain remained in the war and continued to muster her armies and her air force.

Hitler was then in a cleft stick: to attempt the conquest of Britain with Russia at his back was a gamble; to attempt the conquest of Russia with Britain at his back was also a gamble.

Of the two he preferred the latter. He knew that if he made an assault on Britain he would probably fail. Germany would then be left in an exhausted condition to fight a Britain flushed with success and a Russia with her strength intact. But that would mean speedy disaster.

The chances of success in an assault on Russia were slightly better. He might knock Russia out and thus be able to prolong his career of conquest for some years even against a stronger Britain.

And so Hitler went east because it was his only hope of postponing his doom. But that hasn't come off either. Hitler has bitten off more than he can chew in Russia and instead of tackling his opponents one by one he will after all be forced to fight them both at once (and America too) not on two fronts but on one vast front which completely encircles Germany.

Russia was sure from the moment Hitler failed to conquer Britain to take her place on this front. It was inevitable. Your Fuehrer's mistake, Herr Beckmann, was in starting this war at all. And your mistake was in putting him in a position to start it. We have all suffered for that mistake, but you are suffering most, as you deserve.

Just a foretaste

NOVEMBER 8, 1941

On the Western Front last night the gallant bomber crews of the Royal Air Force struck a doughty blow in aid of their brave comrades on the Eastern Front.

Like their Russian allies the men of the R.A.F. were facing great odds, but in spite of terrible weather, ice, gale and cloud, they pressed home their attack on the heart of the enemy's country.

To those who did not come back the free world and the enslaved peoples do honour. They sacrificed themselves in a very valiant action – and an action which will have a profound effect upon both friend and foe.

For last night more British bombers than have ever left these shores at one time were over German Europe. The great engines of the giant Sterlings throbbed a message of hope and comfort to the vast V army spread across the territories that Hitler thinks he rules. They droned a dread warning to the Herrenvolk whom Goebbels has lured into the slaughter house with promises of cheap and glorious victories and a thousand years of lording it over their neighbours.

The huge British bombers carried to the Germans the same message that Stalin spoke from his capital –

'Hitler wants a war of destruction. He will get it.'

Not a thousand years of swaggering domination over the peoples of the world, but a year, two years perhaps, or three of hell.

Last night was just a foretaste. We have not yet enough bombers to help Russia, to attack Italy, to supply our forces in the Middle East, to garrison Singapore, to pound the enemy's shipping on every sea where it dares to show itself and at the same time to maintain a heavy non-stop offensive against Germany.

But we shall have. We are making them, and Roosevelt has promised them. In the meantime there will be other attacks like that of last night. The Germans will not know when we are coming but suddenly, right across Europe, the radio stations will fade out one by one. The ranting and bragging and shrieks of victory, the threats, the promises and boasts will die away and the throb and drone of Europe's liberators will be heard and then the crash and rumble of the bombs which speak louder than any words.

Armistice Day

NOVEMBER 11, 1941

Everywhere I went today I saw men, women and even our children, wearing poppies.

Poppies! It's funny that we should have chosen this particular symbol for the greatest victory in our long victorious history!

Poppies are for pipe dreams, for forgetfulness. It is rosemary that is

for remembrance. But in 1918 and in the years that followed we wore poppies. Why? Because

'In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place.'

Poppies were supposed to be for remembrance in those days. Nevertheless we forgot. Too many forgot that, at the cost of more than a million lives, we won the war that was to make the world safe for democracy.

That despised word, democracy! Poppies came to be for forgetfulness and not for remembrance. Democracy was betrayed and so we have had to fight the war all over again.

- This time we shall not forget what we fought for. Victory in the field will not this time end in defeat in the war of wits which will follow.

We wore our poppies today proudly. Blood-red poppies which call for remembrance not only of the hot blood shed in battle but of the cold-blooded execution yards.

The Germans would not let our friends in Europe celebrate this Armistice Day. No wonder! It is too strong a reminder of the day upon which, 23 years ago, the Germans acknowledged their defeat in the last World War.

Thanks to the Royal Navy

NOVEMBER 12, 1941

'The Navy is here.'

That was the cry which sent a thrill through the free world in those dreary days of the first war winter when His Majesty's destroyer *Cossack* intercepted the German prison ship *Altmark* and rescued her British captives.

Well, the *Cossack* has gone but the Navy is still here and what its presence on the seven seas means is shown in today's news.

Not only is it shown in the stirring accounts of the blows which the enemy is being dealt in the Mediterranean, in the heartening report by Churchill on the greatly improved situation in the Battle of the Atlantic and in the fearless declaration by Duff Cooper that Britain is ready for war in the Pacific if need be. But it is shown also in the fact that there is news from the Eastern Front.

For, if it had not been for the Navy, there either would have been no Russian Front or it would have been of little interest to us because we should have been already out of the war.

It is in fact due in the last resort to the Royal Navy that today,

instead of having overcome his opponents one by one, Hitler faces a great coalition.

It was the Navy, assured of ability to operate from its home ports by the Royal Air Force's victory in the Battle of Britain, which prevented the invasion. The German High Command refused to try to ship troops over the Channel while the Navy was able to move out of port to blast the German transports out of the sea.

And so Hitler had to look elsewhere for his decisive victory, thanks to the Navy.

He looked towards Egypt, the nerve centre of our Empire. And again his gaze fell on the ships of the Royal Navy. He couldn't do a pincers movement on Egypt except through Turkey and Palestine. And he couldn't go through Turkey unless he was sure that Russia would agree. And so he suggested to Russia that they should join together in carving up Turkey and sharing out the British Empire.

But Russia knew the meaning of British sea power. She remembered another continental conqueror who ended his career by surrendering to the captain of a British man-of-war. It was no coincidence that all through last summer and autumn the Russian military experts were writing articles in their newspapers in praise of the Royal Navy.

Russia turned Hitler's plan down flat. So he had to undertake the conquest of Russia. First, however, he had to remove the threat of British intervention in the Balkans while he was engaged in Russia.

Thanks to the gallant Yugoslavs and Greeks, but also thanks to the Royal Navy – particularly at Crete – this took him longer than he expected. So he began the Russian adventure late and the winter has overtaken him.

Now the Royal Navy is not only seeing to it that Russia gets the means to fight on in the spring but the fleet is also preventing the enemy from amassing such force in Africa as to prevent us from paying the necessary attention to the Caucasus end of our Middle Eastern front.

Wherever Hitler seeks a decision in this war he finds the British Fleet putting a spoke in his wheel.

No wonder it warms the cockles of our hearts when we think of the King's Navy, which has broken the naval strength of its enemies one by one and is now more supreme than at any time in its long and victorious history.

Peace merchandise

NOVEMBER 22, 1941

You have heard the United States President's revelations about the

peace idea which Hitler is now trying to sell to Europe* - that is to say the idyllic notion of a happily united Europe combining to destroy the wicked British Imperialists.

The Germans are even trying to sell that idea to the Russians and suggesting that they might like to join in establishing a Socialist New Order on the ruins of the reactionary British Empire.

Now you might be interested to hear the line of merchandise they're trying to get us in Britain to buy.

I was reading a letter this afternoon from Shanghai. It was from one of those neutral business men - a Scandinavian in this case - whom the Germans employ as agents for their peace propaganda.

He wrote that everyone in Shanghai, including all the Germans there, agreed that there is only one common enemy of all Europeans in the East - namely Japan - and that Germany's interests were bound up with those of Britain and America.

He went on to say:

'To my simple mind it looks as if England is on the wrong side in the present fight. The best thing for the whole world would be if England not only made peace with Germany but made an alliance with her to crush the two Asiatic enemies of the White Race's civilisation, Japan and Russia. What a formidable combination that would be. Let us hope it will be realised before it is too late. I know there is a big party in England in favour of such a solution to this war, and there is a still bigger party in America and in Germany. Unfortunately the parties in the democratic countries have just as much difficulty in making themselves heard as their colleagues in Germany.'

Now that is the kind of propaganda which is being carried on all over the world by German agents who pose as good friends of Britain. They say that the decent Germans - the German army caste in particular - are only too anxious to get rid of the Nazis and to double-cross Japan, Italy, Vichy and anyone else necessary and do a deal with Britain.

The German army, they say, is really very gentlemanly, Prussian generals are just like public school boys. If the Swastika were hauled down the old school tie would very quickly take its place. The Horst Wessel Song would be scrapped and the British and the Germans could go into battle together against the Red Russians and the Yellow Japanese happily singing the 'Eton Boating Song' and its Teutonic equivalent.

*November 22, 1941. - It was announced at the White House that the American Government had learned of Berlin's intention to call a conference of Continental States. According to the President's Secretary, Mr. Stephen Early, German losses and the depletion of her reserves would force Germany to seek some means of replenishment in the name of 'economic peace and independence.' A warning was given that the sincerity of German intentions should be discounted in advance.

Certainly the agents who tout this idea round the world earn their pay. Just as certainly the money is wasted, for there is no one in this country who has any illusions about the nice Prussian generals. We remember very well that we had to stop them making a massacre in Paris in 1815 when we were their allies. We haven't forgotten how they behaved in 1870, or their record in France and Belgium in the last war. We haven't forgotten Edith Cavell. Nor are we likely to forget the exploits of Stulpnagel and Falkenhausen and their colleagues in Serbia and Poland in recent months.

No, we know our Prussian generals all right. And the answer of the British people to whispered offers of a gentleman's agreement now in the hour of our growing might is the same as the answer Churchill gave in our darkest hour last year.

'You ask what is our policy. I will say : it is to wage war, by sea, land and air with all our might and all the strength that God can give us. You ask what is our aim. I can answer in one word. Victory – victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. We may show mercy, we shall ask for none.'

Churchill spoke then, as he always speaks, for me and my like – the common people of England. And that is our answer today to the Germans who seek to wriggle out of the consequences of their appalling crimes. . . .

If the Prussian generals choose to cut the throats of Hitler, Himmler and the rest of the grisly gang let them do so but they will not thus secure immunity to plot anew the conquest of the world.

Runstedt and Rommel fall back

NOVEMBER 29, 1941

It is great news from Russia tonight. And from London we send our heartfelt congratulations and tribute to our Russian allies on their stirring victory at Rostov-on-Don.

Richly have they earned their success. For more than five months the Russian armies have fallen back, fighting doggedly all the way but nevertheless retreating.

They have seen the Swastika hoisted over the ruins of their great cities one after the other. Tonight for the first time the Soviet flag flies again over a great city which had fallen into German hands.

It is too early to say that the tide has turned. It still rolls on, slowly it is true, but onwards towards Moscow, but down there in the South the invincible German Army, robbed in fair fight of one of its most

cherished prizes, the key city of the Caucasus, is reeling back along the way it came.

It is a sign. It is a portent.

The Germans, in their chagrin, call it a prestige success. Well, certainly it is a success which will smash the prestige of the German Army, which has been put to flight by forces it had several times claimed to have annihilated.

And away on the African flank of the great Allied front, British soldiers, like their Russian comrades, are showing what they think of German invincibility.

The battle of Libya still rages but it is the British Imperial and Allied forces which are attacking.* The Germans have been thrown back, harassed and chivvied. They still fight fiercely. What else could they do? But they have gone back.

A few weeks ago Berlin boasted that Rommel would soon be in Cairo. Now the German paper *Das Reich* declares 'Whatever happens, Rommel will not lose Tripoli.'

Two invincible German armies were moving up to clutch the Middle East in their pincers. Rommel was to get the Nile and the Suez Canal, Runstedt was to get the Caucasus.

Today those German armies are falling back.

And yet so far the Allies have scarcely begun to bring their weight to bear upon the German war machine.

Behind the armies of Timoshenko, which have struck so hard at Rostov, are gathering the great new reserve armies far beyond the Volga and the Don, armies which the Germans have still to meet.

Behind General Cunningham's Eighth Army, which is dealing the Germans such shrewd buffets in Libya, muster the swelling forces of the British Empire.

The strength of the Russians will accumulate. The might of the British will wax.

From where will Hitler draw new strength to match this never-ending mobilisation of the world's resources against him?

This is a war of reserves and yet, even before the vast superiority of the Allies' reserves have been brought into play, German armies have been halted and thrown back . . .

They will win more victories, but their victories will grow fewer and their defeats more frequent.

Let the British Eighth Army of Libya and the Russian Army of Rostov hail each other across the seas and lands which separate them for both have shown the world that, however the fortunes of war may sway to and fro, the German Army can be beaten, and will one day be smashed out of existence.

*November 18, 1941. Second British offensive begun in Libya.

America and Japan enter the war

DECEMBER 9, 1941

Since I last spoke to you a great event has occurred – the entry of the United States and Japan into the war which Hitler began more than two years ago, and the Japanese attack on Britain's Far Eastern Empire.

You may be wondering what we in England think about it all. I'll try to give you an idea.

First of all, we knew the Japanese attack on *us* would happen sooner or later. We had no illusions about the men who rule Japan. Ever since 1931 – and probably a good deal before then – they have been bent upon aggression and conquest.

We knew they would attack us one day if they couldn't get what they wanted without fighting and we are very glad that they were foolish enough last year to believe Hitler's boast that Britain was already beaten and all that remained to do was to share out her Empire.

The Japanese *believed* that and thought that our Far Eastern Empire would fall into their laps. Well, they weren't the only people to make the mistake of taking Hitler at his word and they won't be the only people to pay for it.

It was certainly lucky for us that Hitler is such a liar because his boasts have certainly delayed the Japanese attack until we were ready for it.

We have always expected to have to fight Japan and we are really relieved that all the bad eggs are in one basket now and that we can strike a blow at a system of tyranny, cruelty and degradation which rivals that of Hitler in its bestiality. All the same we know quite well that we face no easy task.

The Japanese militarists started their war now because they believe that now they have their best chance of success. They know that they will never be stronger, that Germany is growing weaker and Italy is weak unto death. They know that we and America are growing stronger and that later on they would have no chance at all. They saw the forces of law and order waxing in might and their criminal confederates becoming feeblcr. And so, knowing that our strength spells the doom of all criminals, these Tokio gangsters are trying to shoot their way out of the police trap.

They will not succeed. Of that we are sure. The Blitzkrieg will fail in the East as it failed in the West. There will be Japanese successes as there were German victories but we shall withstand this shock and, growing in strength, go on to victory.

All that Japan can do by spreading this war is, at the most, to prolong it and postpone the day of reckoning. And even that is not sure. It may be that Japan's gamble will hasten restitution for all the criminals.

For the United States, the greatest Power in the world, is now at war and for the first time all her gigantic strength is being rapidly and fully mobilised.

I don't think I can make you understand what it means to us in England to have America fighting at our side. It gives us a warm feeling in the heart which it is impossible to describe. It is like feeling the hand-clasp of a brother when one is in trouble.

Today the English have gained new vigour and new spirit from the fact that the English-speaking world stands united to its arms.

The world now makes sense. All who believe in the same things stand on the same side of the barricades. The evil forces have deployed their full strength and we are striking at it.

The turn of the tide

DECEMBER 11, 1941

It has been an historic day.

With the entry of the United States and China into war with all three of the gangster Governments the full strength of the civilised world can now be mobilised swiftly for the destruction of those cliques of wicked men and their organised terrorists who have brought such misery upon the world.

As Roosevelt says, 'the long-known and long-expected has taken place' – and, it may be added, the long prayed-for.

And this day, which has seen Hitler and Mussolini set the seal of ultimate doom on their bloodstained and perjured careers, has also brought evidence that already the German Army and Air Force, those twin instruments of terror and crime, are meeting a force which out-matches their own in both Russia and in Africa.

All across Europe has swept the news – the German Armies are falling back, the German Air Force is outmatched.

Who, however simple, will ever again believe any word from those boastful liars who months ago announced the obliteration of the Russian Air Force, the annihilation of the Russian armies and the impending and certain conquest of Egypt by the German forces?

Even in its misery Europe must surely be able to laugh at this. I can imagine a great wave of laughter sweeping the Continent and drowning its groans.

But they are not laughing in Germany. They are murmuring. Hitler, leaving his soldiers to struggle in the snow and ice, has turned back to Berlin to tell the German people that 1941, like 1940, has not been the year of decisive victory after all, and they must now get ready for next year's blood bath.

Throwing aside the pretence that he represents a united German nation, Hitler warns his people that he has the army and the Gestapo behind him and that all who object to fighting for Western civilisation side by side with the Japanese against four-fifths of the world will die in chains.

Will die in chains! Two million Germans have already died in their chains since Hitler began his war. How many more will consent to die so that the rest of humanity shall also live and die in chains?

Or will the German people decide at last that, as they must die anyhow, it is better to die in casting off their chains?

Myth of German efficiency shattered

DECEMBER 20, 1941

Goebbels was on the air tonight. He was begging. Touting for winter equipment and comforts for the German troops in Russia.

He has smashed the second great legend which has grown up around Germany. The first legend was the invincibility of the German Army. We and the Russians have shattered that.

Now Goebbels has splintered the second great German myth, the myth of German efficiency. For years the world has been mesmerised by the hallucination of inexorable, infallible German efficiency and power of organisation.

And tonight Goebbels had to go on the air and beg for winter woollies, blankets, boots, bottles and drink for the invincible, superbly supplied German Army in Russia.

The peoples of Europe will not give up their blankets and boots and bottles to repair the inefficiency of the German rulers. The German people may, if they are still labouring under the delusion that such an amateur and incompetent Government as theirs can still retrieve the disaster. But if they do they will be simply throwing good money after bad, flinging into the insatiable maw of the war machine the few substantial and valuable possessions which will have some real value when the crash comes. Let them remember that they were promised final victory in 1940 and again in 1941 and thus persuaded to make more sacrifices. Will they be taken in yet once more when they are promised victory 'one day,' maybe in 30 years? . . .

Brauchitsch sacked

DECEMBER 21, 1941

Brauchitsch has paid the penalty for being right. In ordinary sane countries generals are superseded for their mistakes. In the Third Reich they are sacked for their Fuehrer's miscalculations.

Churchill the other day described Hitler's invasion of Russia as the greatest blunder in history. The last few days have proved how right he was. But it is Brauchitsch who is thrown out of his job for it, not Hitler.

The German Commander-in-Chief, who as long ago as September warned Hitler against a winter campaign in Russia, loses his job because his advice was ignored. The German people pays for the blunder in blood and tears. And what happens to Hitler, who is responsible for it all? He makes himself Supreme War Lord, just like the Kaiser when he was leading his people to disaster.

In the announcement of his own promotion tonight Hitler says that it was the realisation of an inward call and his own will to take responsibility that decided him to make himself his own generalissimo. He doesn't even claim that he was called by the people and the army to take command.

No, he is following his own intuitions, he says, in taking charge of 'the operations and equipment of the army and reserving for himself personally all essential decisions.'

Perhaps the German Army and the people from whom it is drawn will remember that it was Hitler's intuition which began the war with Russia six months ago today, that it was Hitler's intuition - certainly nothing more substantial - which caused the High Command to announce repeatedly that Russia was destroyed and that final victory in the East was already achieved more than two months ago.

Thanks to these intuitions nearly every family in Germany has a son, a husband or a father to mourn. Thanks to these intuitions Brauchitsch, like Bock and others, has lost his job and his reputation as a soldier.

When will the German Army and the German people have had enough of these intuitions and give Hitler the sack?

1942

<i>January 6</i>	Roosevelt's pledge.
<i>January 13</i>	The fall of Kuala Lumpur.
<i>January 14</i>	King Christian defies the Nazis.
<i>January 20</i>	The retreat from Moscow.
<i>January 31</i>	Hitler, mass executioner of the German people.
<i>February 2</i>	Fortress Singapore : Fortress Europe.
<i>February 11</i>	They haven't even counted us yet.
<i>February 18</i>	Hitler's crusade.
<i>February 21</i>	The Empire's foundations.
<i>March 3</i>	Foul weather friends.
<i>April 30</i>	German Baedeker raids.
<i>May 29</i>	Heydrich shot.
<i>May 31</i>	The first 1,000 bomber raid.
<i>June 18</i>	Two years' perspective; Hitler's miscalculations.
<i>June 24</i>	Defeat in North Africa.
<i>June 26</i>	The massacre of the Jews in Poland.
<i>June 29</i>	Counting the days to winter.
<i>July 16</i>	Impressions from the country.
<i>August 4</i>	The situation in India.
<i>August 5</i>	Munich dies.
<i>August 27</i>	The Red Army's offensive on the central front.
<i>September 1</i>	German miscalculation.
<i>September 29</i>	Fighting French repudiate Munich.
<i>October 19</i>	Reprisals – Japanese and German.
<i>October 27</i>	Twenty years of Fascism.
<i>November 3</i>	Strike action in Europe.
<i>November 6</i>	El Alamein.
<i>November 11</i>	News from behind the battlefronts.
<i>November 12</i>	The church bells ring.
<i>November 18</i>	The allied leaders speak.
<i>November 30</i>	Balkan solidarity.
<i>December 4</i>	Italy will yet fight on our side.
<i>December 10</i>	Italy's allies.

Roosevelt's Pledge

JANUARY 6, 1942

Roosevelt has tonight, in the name of the human race, pronounced sentence of death on the men in Germany, Japan and Italy and their accomplices in other countries, who set out to destroy the institution of democracy – the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity, and religion.

And in that sentence of death on the Fascist world were the seeds of birth of a New World for the common people who have suffered so much during the years that have passed and who will, perhaps, have to suffer even more in the years that are to come.

For Roosevelt, who is going to supply the free peoples with 60,000 planes and 45,000 tanks this year and 125,000 planes and 75,000 tanks next year, has pledged himself and his people to ensure that after this victory democracy is not betrayed as it was after the last.

It is a pledge which the British people endorses with its whole heart. When Churchill said 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job', he was speaking for a nation which realises only too bitterly that it didn't finish the job last time, a people which knows that, having won the last war, it allowed its enemies in all countries to defeat it in the so-called peace that followed.

We in Britain endorse with our full heart the American President's declaration that our victory this time will not be used to re-establish the world we knew before 1939.

The massed and angered forces of humanity will finish this war which the greedy and self interested few of all nations allowed to start. And we shall not consider that it is finished until not only the war machines of the aggressor nations have been destroyed, but also the evil seeds from which future wars may spring, have been rooted out everywhere.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

January 6, 1942

The militarists of Berlin and Tokyo started this war, but the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it. . . .

They know that victory for us means victory for freedom.

They know that victory for us means victory for the institution of

democracy, the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity. . . .

The world is too small to provide adequate living room both for Hitler and God. . . .

Our own objectives are clear; the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by war lords upon their enslaved peoples; the objective of liberating the subjugated nations; the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear everywhere in the world.

We shall not stop short of these objectives. Nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people and I have good reason to believe that I speak also for all the other peoples that fight with us when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war but also to maintain the security of the peace that will follow. . . .

But we of the United Nations are not making all this sacrifice of human effort and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last World War. We are fighting to-day for security and progress and for peace, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills. . . .

That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been and never can be successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance and decency and freedom and faith.

The fall of Kuala Lumpur

JANUARY 13, 1942

The fall of Kuala Lumpur has been a shock to all of us here in Britain. It has brought right home to us the gravity of the situation in the Far East. And, although we heartily support the view expressed by Col. Knox, the United States Secretary for the Navy, that Germany is Public Enemy No. 1 and that the destruction of Hitler's war machine is our main objective, the capture by the Japanese of the second city of Malaya is not an event we can dismiss with a shrug of the shoulders.

For me personally the thought of the Japanese soldiery strutting about through the streets of Kuala Lumpur is particularly painful. I know the city well.

In many ways it was a fine advertisement for British Imperialism, but even in those days, six or seven years ago, there was for me at least a presentiment of calamity in the place. People were too busy making money and spending it, too careless of what was happening in the rest of the world, too set upon their pleasures and too little concerned either with the future, or with the injustices and hardships which surrounded them in spite of the general prosperity. . . .

It seemed that everyone was imbued with a feverish desire to make hay while the sun shone.

Well, the sun has stopped shining, and the lovely city which saw such carefree, happy days, is now, with a score or more other capitals, under the blight of barbarian occupation.

We shall go back. Of that be sure. The industrious Chinese and the proud and sensitive Malays of Kuala Lumpur will be liberated from the Japanese yoke, which they detest for all the cry of Asia for the Asiatics, and one day we British will play our part in making Malaya the earthly paradise it ought to be.

But it will never be quite the same again and that is good. The fall of Kuala Lumpur marks the end of an era, an era which had much that was good in it but also much that was bad.

What was good we shall preserve, the excellent health services, the educational system, the road building and all the practical benefits which the British brought to Malaya. But the rest we shall consign to the past, perhaps with a sigh, for it was pleasant for some of us, but without any genuine regret.

I will quote from the last despatch sent from Kuala Lumpur by the *Times* correspondent. He says:

'Whatever happens in the future, there can be for the British no return to the easy, opulent way of life which had a monument in Kuala Lumpur. Whoever rules Malaya is surrounded by all the natural wealth and all the natural beauty that the tropics have to offer. To hold them or to regain them requires something of the same toughness of fibre that won them in the first place.'

That is not only true of Malaya and Kuala Lumpur. It is true of everything British. We were getting soft but we shall emerge from this war hardened and tempered, with the toughness of fibre restored which has enabled us to fight successfully for centuries for what we believe to be right.

And in the fight for a better and juster world after the war that toughness will stand us in good stead. . . .

Hitler and his grisly gang in Rome and Tokyo are building better than they know.

King Christian defies the Nazis

JANUARY 14, 1942

Tonight I want to pay a tribute to a fine Christian gentleman – in the best sense of that rather ill-used expression.

He is King Christian of Denmark.

He has defied the Nazis, in a matter on which many a man in a far less difficult position than he is in, has followed their bestial beckoning.

He has refused to permit the introduction into Denmark of the Nuremberg so-called laws against the Jews, the most shameful and disgraceful manifestation of sadism of which even Hitler's grisly gang is guilty.

Christian, that King who so well deserves his name, has told the violators of his country that, rather than befoul his land with their disgusting persecution of a helpless people, he will abdicate.

So far the anti-Jewish laws have not been introduced into Denmark.

If everyone in Europe were as courageous as King Christian in refusing to be an accomplice in this Hitler horror, he would better deserve the deliverance from his own wretchedness for which he hopes.

How can anyone who helps to stamp down into the mire of misery an utterly defenceless race justly expect his own liberation? Anti-Semitism is the mark of the beast. No one guilty of it has a true claim to any better lot than that to which he condemns his fellow-men of Jewish blood.

Just as the Quisling who helps the Boche oppress his own countrymen is marked down for justice so should that man, of whatever nationality, who helps to add to the intolerable suffering of the Jew be brought to account for his crime.

The retreat from Moscow

JANUARY 20, 1942

Well, Mojaïsk has been recaptured by the Russians. Mojaïsk was the heart, core and centre of the so-called winter line which Hitler, when he took over the command of the German armies in the field, pledged himself to hold.

Around Mojaïsk were concentrated the cream, the elite of the German army. Mojaïsk had to be held at all costs. That was Hitler's order.

The German army tried to obey it. But they couldn't. They fought desperately, with all the best troops they had, to hold Mojaïsk but the Russians took it.

Perhaps Europe will now realise that the factor they have to consider in the future is not the German army but the Russian army.

Mojaisk has been recaptured by an army declared by the Nazis many months ago to have been annihilated. Behind this annihilated army a new army is being built up and behind that another.

The fall of this keypoint in Hitler's defence line, from which he planned to launch his next offensive, is the high spot so far reached in the great Russian winter counter-offensive.

Now the first stage of compelling a German retreat and denying the enemy a chance to settle into a winter line, is over. This is the most bitter blow of Hitler's defeat.

The epic story of the Russian advance from the very jaws of defeat to the overthrow of Hitler's greatest offensive is the principal page in the war's history to date. As a great operation against heavy odds it may not be equalled.

Hitler staked all when he sacrificed two and a half million men and 16,000 tanks for the capture of Moscow.

It was the eve of victory and the fanfares prepared the German people. But it was also the moment for the new Russian armies and the order was given for the whole line to advance, like Wellington's call at Waterloo. From the Neva to the Don-mouth a thousand mile line of white-clad Russians fell upon every German formation. Defeat came nowhere. It was a great sweep to victory, an irresistible tide.

Territory twice the size of Britain was recovered.

Hitler's retreat in Russia before the Russian steam-roller makes Napoleon's march back a pale shadow. Instead of promoting victorious generals in the Kremlin and offering the world his version of peace, Hitler is dismissing defeated leaders at his Smolensk headquarters and calling on Germany and his vassals to give him a new army.

But who wants to serve under Hitler? He has opened his personal command with a defeat all along the line.

Hitler, mass executioner of Germans

JANUARY 31, 1942

Tonight as we reach the end of the first month of 1942, we stand on the threshold of great and terrible events on a scale such as history has never witnessed before.

In a world deluged already with blood the stage is being set for the mighty and decisive clash between the forces of Good and Evil, of Life and Death, for which the countless centuries of man's evolution have all the time been preparing.

In Hitler the forces of evil have found their supreme incarnation. His speech last night smelt of death. It was the desperate declaration of the personification of the devilish philosophy of destruction.

Hitler admitted that he had utterly miscalculated in believing that Britain would stand aside and allow him to extend his evil domination over Europe, and that because he had failed to understand the British, Germany was now forced to fight the whole world.

This man, who has so often and so glibly promised his people easy triumphs and a swift climb to the pinnacle of world mastery, now can promise them only death – death for tens of thousands in the spring campaign in Russia, death for hundreds in the futile effort to reverse the verdict of the Battle of the Atlantic.

All over the Reich, all over Europe, the recruiting sergeants of death are rounding up the young men who are to be sacrificed so that the erstwhile conqueror can get the bitter taste of defeat out of his mouth and once more savour the sweetness of victories bought with the lives of the flower of his country's manhood.

Well, no doubt there will be victories again for Hitler, and no doubt the taste of the blood in which they will be drenched will not spoil their flavour for him.

But the growing piles of dead which Hitler will erect as monuments to his victories will be milestones not on the road to final victory, but on the pathway to defeat. If Germany could not win in 1940 and 1941, when Britain stood alone, she certainly cannot win in 1942 when Russia and the United States are Britain's allies. Even Hitler dared not promise victory in 1942. And if Germany cannot win in 1942, when the Allies will still be far short of their full strength, how can she hope to avoid complete and crushing defeat in the years that will follow?

She has no hope and Hitler knows it. All this mass executioner of his own people could say was that there will not be another 1918, that this time Germany will not call an end to the bloodshed when she is beaten but will fight on even though it is sure that the only consequence of doing so will be to decimate the nation and bring it to the last stages of exhaustion.

So that Hitler may for a little longer enjoy the sadistic pleasure of murder on the grand scale Germany is to be brought to utter and irretrievable calamity.

Well, be it so. It will solve for us a question which is arousing high controversy. The differences between those who do not wish their own country to become brutalised by a resort to mass vengeance on a defeated foe and those in whom the disgusting crimes of the Germans have aroused such horror and hatred that they demand the extermination of Germany as a great nation, will be settled by Hitler himself.

If Hitler has his way and is supported right up to the bitter end by the German people there will be no need for us to take any action against

the Germans after the war, for the war will not end until Germany has been dragged by Hitler into the grave of national suicide.

Nothing that the bitterest or most violent advocate of total vengeance imagines can compare with Hitler's plans for his own people. For he intends to make of Germany a gigantic funeral pyre for himself and to leave as his own memorial the cenotaph of a nation.

Perhaps that is the scheme of things – that Germany shall be rendered powerless for all time by her own act, thus giving humanity the security it demands, while sparing it the necessity of measures which would, when passions had cooled, weigh upon its conscience.

Fortress Singapore: Fortress Europe

FEBRUARY 2, 1942

Our hearts and thoughts, here in London, are tonight in Singapore, that great city, fortress and port which we founded, developed and made prosperous – with a prosperity shared by the whole world.

It was a jungle-covered island, infested with wild beasts and disease when, long ago, the British decided to make there an outpost of civilisation which would bring East and West together and help the peoples of the East and the West to share the plenty which the world offered. We banished disease, expelled the wild beasts and built a fine city and harbour in which men of all races, creeds and colours would live in security and happiness and go about their business of developing wealth in which all could share.

And now, over that happy sunny island, scene of so much pleasant peaceful and sane activity, hangs the dark menace of death and crazy destruction. The wild beasts, let loose by Hitler, are back again, disease and misery stalk there once more, a pall of smoke darkens the brilliance of the tropical sun and moon and the thunder of the great guns drowns the chatter of the monkeys and the shrilling of the equatorial birds.

And tonight, as I speak, the gallant garrison stands to its stations in one of the greatest and most dramatic sieges of all time. They stand there – stolid, slow Tommies from the shires of England, sturdy Highlanders from Scotland, lean, bronzed Australians, tall bearded Sikhs and tough little Gurkhas from India, lion-hearted Chinese and wiry Malays in whom the blood of warrior ancestors runs swift.

It is the same great battle which these men are fighting in Singapore tonight which you in Europe are fighting in the best way you can. The motto of those soldiers, as they face the vast odds against them, is the

motto of their comrade in the Philippines, the great American General MacArthur : 'Only those willing to die are fit to live.'

That is the only slogan for those who fight for freedom. It was the slogan of the women and children of London and Coventry, who would not surrender, of the women and children of Leningrad and Moscow. Let it be the motto today of every man in Europe.

Singapore may seem a long way from Europe but men are dying in Singapore tonight so that Europe can be free. The people of Europe can help to make sure that their sacrifice will not be in vain.

The men of Singapore are not afraid to die so that they may withhold from the enemy the prize he seeks - their fortress. The men of Europe should not be afraid to die rather than yield to the enemy the prize he needs above everything - their labour.

They, like you in Europe, are facing great odds and reason and self-interest might counsel surrender, but they are dedicated to the future of humanity and they know that every day they cheat the enemy of his objective counts more for the common cause that the preservation of their own lives.

Across 8,000 miles the fighting garrison of Singapore salutes the workers' garrison of Europe as comrades. In London our hearts are with you all.

'They haven't even counted us yet

FEBRUARY 11, 1942

The news coming in from Singapore tonight is serious enough to prepare us for the possible loss of this great port and fortress. Naturally we hope for the best and we know that our men out there, however badly outnumbered and however heavily outmatched in the air, will add honour to the invincible tradition of a race which has lost many a battle but always in the end wins its wars.

Now exactly six months after their boast that the final battle of annihilation had been completed in Russia, the Germans are loudly proclaiming the disintegration of the British Empire.

Well might Churchill ask, 'What kind of a people do they think we are?'

What indeed do they think we are, we and our Allies, when they boast that we are overthrown never to rise again on the strength of a few resounding victories in the field? Why, they haven't even counted us yet, it seems!

They haven't thought what it means when Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek, our great Chinese ally, meets the Viceroy of India and the Indian

Nationalist leaders. It means that the representatives of nearly 900 million people are in conference. Do they recognise what it means when the Pacific War Council meets in London as it did to-day, that it represents nearly 600 million subjects of the British Crown and the Royal Netherlands Government, acting in the closest consultation with the great nation of 130 million Americans? Do they realise, our boastful foes, that to equip this colossal manpower there are the material resources of four-fifths of the world? Not to mention the fact that in addition to all this Germany and her European vassals are at present fully engaged in an exhausting battle with the Russian armies, with their almost unlimited reserves of men and material.

Anyone who does realise these things will find the fanfares with which Japan's successes are being blazoned forth to have a somewhat tinny echo.

Suppose that Singapore should fall. What difference can that make to the wretches from Germany and her vassal States who are dying now in Russia in their thousands and who will die there in their tens of thousands when the spring comes? Would the capture of Singapore by the Japanese bring men back to life? Would it make the Italian and Finnish peoples any less hungry, the Rumanians any less ragged? Would it halt the typhus epidemic?

Let the Germans look to themselves at Smolensk, Orel and Kharkov. Let them explain to Europe what is happening on the Russian front. We will tell Europe what is happening at Singapore. We can take it and so can our friends. But can the Germans? And their so-called friends? Apparently not. So the Nazis fill the air with noise about Singapore and it is left to us to tell Europe what is happening in Russia.

Hitler's crusade

FEBRUARY 18, 1942

It was the birthday today of Timoshenko, the great Russian soldier who today, months after the Germans had reported him superseded and in disgrace, is leading the continued advances of his armies on the Donetz and Black Sea fronts.

Here in London we hail Timoshenko the man who saved Moscow and the Caucasus and is now making Field-Marshal Hitler wonder whether his spring offensive will be such a colossal success after all.

And, of course, we shall be told that because we pay tribute to a fine warrior fighting with us against the common foe, we are admitting that we are accomplices in a conspiracy against Christianity and western civilisation.

‘Well, I don’t know what Timoshenko’s religious views are or what he feels about western civilisation. But I do know that he is striking some valiant blows against Hitlerite Germany, which has proved itself by word as well as deed the most deadly enemy of Christendom and the cultural heritage of the West.

Let’s just look at some items in today’s news. We learn that Martin Bormann has been appointed successor to Rudolf Hess and has become the most important man in the Reich after Hitler and Himmler. Bormann is the author of a long document in which he expresses bitter hostility to all Christian churches.

That’s one item of news about the great German crusade to save Europe from godlessness. Here’s another:

The *Deutsche Rundschau*, a German paper published in Poland, announces with savage relish that Poland has disappeared for all time. Poland, the great Catholic State, the eastern outpost of Latin civilisation, is declared defunct by the Germans. The Russians have a treaty of alliance with Poland and their men are fighting side by side.

Here’s another item. A French Legionary, sent by his quisling bosses to fight for Christianity in Hitler’s crusade, has deserted to the Russians and has written a letter declaring that the defenders of France’s great cultural heritage are to be found not in the German but in the Russian armies.

So much for Hitler’s crusade in defence of Christianity. What about his pretence that his campaign in Russia is being fought to protect Western civilisation against Asiatic hordes? What about the Asiatic hordes of Japan whose military successes and barbarous atrocities against their white victims are hailed with such fervent approval in Germany?

A Spanish newspaper, the *Diario de Barcelona*, has ventured to point out that racially Hitler has committed a crime by allying himself with the Japanese against Europeans and their American kinsmen.

For ourselves we are not keen on racial distinctions. The Indians are our fellow citizens, the Chinese are our allies, Jews, negroes and Arabs fight at our side, but we do smile rather awry when we hear the German radio proclaiming that it is the Third Reich which is standing as the bulwark against the Mongol menace.

The Empire's foundations

FEBRUARY 21, 1942

Well, we've come through a week of shocks and surprises* and we're all feeling much better at the end of it than we did at the beginning.

It's true that our position, and that of our Dutch friends, in our Far Eastern Empire has grown even more menacing than before and is likely to grow worse in so far as more rich possessions will probably be lost. But we are not concerned with possessions, with material profit and loss. We are not fighting an imperialistic war although the Germans and Japanese are by their own admission. We are fighting to destroy Fascism and give the common people of the world a square deal even if it costs us our Empire to do it.

Empires and colonies and domination of one race by another don't mean anything now. They will mean nothing after the war. For us our Empire means a great popular alliance of all the peoples who find in the symbolic and sentimental tie with the British Crown an expression of their common loyalty to the ideals of democracy and progress which Britain first gave to the world and for whose further development towards a new form suitable for the modern world, we and all nations who have inherited or adopted these ideals, are fighting.

One reason why we are feeling so much better tonight than we were at the start of the week is because we have proved to ourselves that we retain the energy and faith which built our Empire in the first place and which will build our new Empire of ideals in the future.

The ability to govern ourselves, on which was founded our ability to found a self-governing Commonwealth of Nations has, once again, been demonstrated. Public opinion has been brought effectively to bear through our Parliamentary institutions and the Prime Minister has responded to it in the true tradition of British democracy in which he believes so ardently and for which he has fought so courageously.

But there is another reason also for the renewed vigour and resolve which we feel – apart from the reassuring proof that we still know how to rule ourselves in the traditional manner of our Parliamentary system. This second reason has less to do with tradition and more with the future. It is the entry into high office of another man with a forward-looking mind and freedom from any cramping restraints of political dogma or political machinery – Sir Stafford Cripps.

It is safe to say that Cripps represents a great body of British

*February 21, 1942. February 11-12, *Scharnhorst*, *Prinz Eugen* and *Gneisenau* pass through the English Channel.

February 15, Japanese occupy Singapore.

February 19, Japanese invade Bali.

opinion – predominantly youthful opinion – which, at the same time progressive in spirit and fully conscious of the value of its nation's fine traditions, which is determined to preserve what was best in the pre-war world but add to it something still better.

Cripps stands for that section of opinion in the world which, recognising that there must be something different from the old political, social and economic system, rejects Fascism with loathing and detestation and is unable to accept such features of Communism which conflict with these traditions of democracy which it is desired to retain.

In other words, Cripps' appointment, because of what he represents in the public mind, is an earnest that some new 'spirit will breathe fresh life into' the political structure at present based on the twin pillars of that magnificent and centuries-old tradition of enlightened Conservatism represented by Churchill, Eden and Lyttleton, and that more recent but equally fine tradition of working-class trade unionism and radical politics represented by Bevin and Attlee.

What this new force will come to be known as in political terms does not matter. What is sure is that it exists, that it is finding expression and that it will play a big part in the post-war world.

Foul weather friends

MARCH 3, 1942

A most remarkable and heartening thing is happening, something which restores faith in human nature. It is simply this – that all over the world the ordinary people are showing quite clearly their rejection of the idea that it is the sensible and natural thing to desert the side which is getting all the knocks and support the side which appears to be winning.

At this dark hour for the democracies in the Far East, the people of Asia are rallying voluntarily and heroically to our cause although at the moment the chances against us may to them seem overwhelming.

It might have been thought that with MacArthur beleaguered in the Bataan Peninsula, the Filipinos might have decided to throw in their lot with the Japanese, that with the Allies fighting against great odds in Java, the Indonesians might have abandoned resistance to the invaders. But, on the contrary, the apparent invincibility of the Japanese has called forth an ever-increasing blaze of resistance.

And the same spirit can be seen rising in India . . .

Many who were our foes in fair weather are becoming our comrades now the storm is upon us. It is best that way. How will the enemy's fair weather friends behave when he meets the tempest?

I have been told that on account of our series of reverses in the Pacific and the disappointments in Libya and over the German battleships,

we are losing our friends in Europe, that our defeats are driving former supporters into the enemy's camp. I don't believe it.

I believe that there are very few people in Europe outside Germany who believe that ill success is a crime, that those who are in trouble deserve to forfeit loyalty.

We certainly have never felt that those of our Allies who were crushed were therefore in the wrong and deserved to be defeated. On the contrary we have proclaimed that adversity makes the strongest claims upon friendship.

We believe that the cause for which we and the vast majority of the peoples of Europe and the world stand, is not to be judged by victories or defeats – although we do not doubt for a moment that it will be victorious because evil cannot triumph, because the faith which we hold, if we keep it pure, cannot fail to inspire us with the spirit which alone can decide the issue.

And we believe, too, that the setbacks which we have sustained, not only have made us more and not less *deserving* of victory, but have made that victory more certain and closer, because we are the better spiritually for our troubles, purer in our faith and therefore more capable of victorious action.

Because our reverses in the Far East have made us aware that we have fallen short of the ideals which we profess, and have ensured that such shortcomings will be remedied, those reverses have strengthened us enormously.

German Baedeker raids

APRIL 30, 1942

When, more than a year ago, the German Air Force was doing its worst against us, under the stupid delusion that the secret of victory lay in the breaking of our morale by terror bombing, we used to note each day the destruction of some beloved monument of our national history and say to ourselves, 'better that it should have been battered to dust and rubble by German bombs than gazed upon by a German invader.'

Do you remember when Churchill said that the British people would see their great historic capital of London reduced to ashes rather than let it fall into German hands? That was when the Germans were all-conquering, when there was no army in the whole world to match a tithe of their army, when the Luftwaffe was still to be beaten in our sunlit summer skies and was for a long time to hold the supremacy of the night sky of autumn and winter, when, for all we know, only the Royal Navy stood between us and national extinction.

It was then that Hitler offered us peace and immunity from the bombardment which he believed would be decisive, and it was then that Churchill, speaking for the entire nation, declared 'We abate not one jot or tittle of our just demands' and proclaimed as our terms for peace the liberation of all the conquered nations and the complete destruction of the German war machine.

That was when we were alone and very weak, when our ill-wishers confidently expected that Hitler would wring Britain's neck in a few weeks, and even our friends waited with their thumbs down for our defeat. In those days we resolved that we would see every city of ours erased, if Hitler could fulfil his threat, rather than swerve from our resolve to go on hitting back at the enemy while we had strength to strike.

Each night for months hundreds of German bombers unloaded their dread cargo upon our cities, towns and villages; tens of thousands of our men, women and children died and their graves and the ruins of our historic buildings and monuments became the proud memorials of the new Britain which, awakened from the slumber of years, strode painfully yet manfully along its lonely path at the end of which lay the goal, dim and hard to see in those days, of victory.

So it was, in those days, grim days they were but gay with our certainty that the ordeal was worth enduring and would one day pass. And now, when we are no longer alone, when our strength is waxing as fast as theirs is waning, the Germans imagine that they can intimidate us by turning loose against our most treasured monuments, the mere score or two of bombers which they can spare from their over-strained resources.

What kind of people do they think we are, to have passed through the mass raids of 1940 steeled in the knowledge that one day we should turn the tables, only to weaken in the hour of our strength and stay our hand, which now wields the instrument of victory, simply because our failing foe strikes with the last relics of his strength at things which are precious to us?

What kind of people would prefer to keep the monuments of its history intact at the price of betraying the history to which those monuments bear witness? What kind of a people would save its sticks and stones to lose the spirit which they enshrine? Not this kind of a people!

And let the German people remember this. It was not we who willed this total war from the air. We did not begin it, but we shall not stop it until the régime which did will it and launch it, has crashed among the ruins with which it has strewn a once-fair continent.

Heydrich shot

MAY 20, 1942

Something absolutely crucial has happened in EUROPE: the shots at Reinhardt Heydrich, Hitler's chief agent of terror in occupied Europe, marks the fact that Europe has cast off fear, has freed itself from the malaise which rendered it so easy a victim to the terror of the Luftwaffe, the panzers and the Gestapo.

It is fitting that this tremendous gesture, symbolising the rebirth on the Continent of civic courage, should have been made by the Czechs, the first victims – if one excepts the Austrians, who were half-willing victims – of the reign of terror.

Those shots in a Prague street by unknown heroes must have atoned among the Czechs for the shots that were not fired in 1938, when the cowardice and treachery of some of those who should have been the Czechs' friends, paralysed their trigger fingers and that tremendous and gallant national mobilisation in Czechoslovakia petered out in a humiliating and degrading surrender – through no fault of the Czech people.

The Czechs are mobilised again. Once more, as in 1938, all those who love liberty and honour the civic courage of a small people struggling to preserve their independence and integrity, look to Prague for a message of hope. And this time they are not disappointed. The message has come in those shots at Heydrich which will echo round Europe until they are drowned in the rattle of the firing squads meting out justice to all Heydrich's accomplices, whether German or denationalised Quislings.

Those Prague shots have fired the hot embers of passionate resistance to the Germans throughout the enslaved countries, but they have struck a chill into the hearts of all the creatures who are guilty of the crimes which stung those brave men to their desperate act of retribution.

Those shots were fired not by men ignorant of the consequences for their own beloved people. Hitler has ruled in Europe long enough for all to know the frenzied bloodiness of his vengeance. The shots were fired in full knowledge that they would be approved by those who will have to suffer for them.

Never has there been such a tribute to a nation as that paid by the Germans when they backed their offer of 10,000,000 crowns of Judas money for betrayal of the heroes, by frightful threats to execute entire families. They know their Czechs, those Germans, insofar as they know that money will not buy betrayal. But they don't know them if they think terror will exact it.

Tonight, solemnly and humbly, we in Britain salute the Czech people. Let them rest assured their blow for freedom will be honoured for all time and their innocent blood will be avenged.

The first 1,000 bomber raid

MAY 31, 1942

So the blow has fallen on Cologne.

You may ask how we, who know what heavy bombing means, feel about this appalling and devastating raid on Cologne – more than twice as heavy as anything the Germans did here at the peak of their strength.

Well, we are not gloating over the devastation and terror which we have been compelled to carry into Germany. We are even sorry for the women and children who may have suffered for the stupidity of their menfolk in putting Hitler in power and their feebleness and cowardice in still keeping him there.

Yes, we are sorry for them, but when we remember Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry and Belgrade and wonder how many of the women and even the children of Cologne exulted at the activities of the Luftwaffe, then we harden our hearts. For the German women, and even the German children, ought to be capable of recognising evil and rejecting it. The women and children of all other European peoples are in the forefront of the battle for right against wrong.

And when we think of those innocent Czech women and boys who have just been shot in cold blood simply because they were Czechs the thought of the scenes in Cologne last night becomes less horrible and we realise, without feeling any lust for vengeance, that if these things are to stop – if the helpless populations of the occupied lands, from Russia to France, are to have their terrible ordeal curtailed – then such things as happened at Cologne last night must happen elsewhere in Germany again and again.

The end in this case most certainly does justify the means. And the end is the speediest possible termination of humanity's martyrdom and to teach the German people, so that they will never forget it, the truth of the warning that he who lives by the sword will perish by the sword.

Indeed, I am convinced that the day will come when the Germans themselves will thank us because we taught them to repent and forsake the ways which have for the past half century blocked the forward march of the common people into their inheritance and threatened to destroy the fruits of the painful progress of humanity through twenty centuries.

Two years' perspective

JUNE 18, 1942

Looking back over the past two years it is possible, perhaps for the first time, to see clearly the course of history as it has been made in this war and as we are living it now.

June 18, 1940 – that is a date which the historians who will one day recount the tale of this war, will mark big in their books. For on that day Hitler learnt that the calculation on which he had based his hopes of victory in his bid for world domination, had begun to go wrong.

Had he been able to foresee the declaration made by Churchill on that day, and all that has flowed from it, he probably would never have decided to start this war, or at least, perhaps, his people would not have allowed him to.

Let's look back.

Hitler's plans were based on the assumption that, even if Britain and France honoured their pledges to Poland (which he more than half doubted), he would be able to destroy Poland before the Western Powers could intervene and then, facing the West with a *fait accompli* and a suggestion that all should now combine against Russia, induce the Western Powers to make peace with Germany.

The first part of this programme went all right. The second didn't. That was miscalculation number one, but not a bad one for it seemed certain to Hitler that a blitz campaign in the West would in any case settle the issue.

France could be knocked out and Britain would then make peace in face of a continental *bloc*, including a completely collaborating France.

That was miscalculation number two. France fell but Britain did not make peace and France did not enter a continental alliance against her, although the collaborators were willing to.

Instead, two years ago today, Churchill made his historic declaration that Britain would fight on alone not only to save herself, but to save civilisation and restore the liberties of all the conquered nations. And de Gaulle raised the standard of Fighting France, thereby ensuring that sooner or later the French in France would resume the battle.

From this miscalculation of Hitler's followed the next to which he was on June 18, one year ago, just about to give effect.

When Britain fought on and beat the invasion and the Luftwaffe in 1940, Hitler was compelled to pin his hopes of victory, which were still high, on a new plan, which turned out to be miscalculation number three – the attack on Russia in the expectation of a blitz victory.

Hitler would not have been so rash as to attack Russia with Britain still unconquered, had he believed that, even if Russia took longer to

beat than he expected, there could arise a threat for him in the West while he was still engaged in the East.

Here he miscalculated on Britain's power of recovery, her energy and productive power, the spirit of her workers and the skill of her Navy. How indeed could he anticipate a British achievement which has astonished us and will for generations astonish historians?

But there was yet another mistake, miscalculation number five, which, although it would not have been one had not Hitler's estimate of the course of the war been wrong in the four particulars already mentioned, is the most fatal of all – the belief that the war could be won before the United States could intervene effectively.

When Hitler was compelled to realise that once more he had been wrong, that American supplies *were* pouring across, that Britain *was* becoming powerful and dangerous, that the war in Russia *was not* going to end before the menace in the West became real, then he was driven to another fatal move again based on a miscalculation – miscalculation number six.

This was to invoke the Tripartite Treaty and let Japan loose in the Pacific with the prime purpose of diverting American arms and shipping from Europe and forcing Britain to divert men and material from the West Front and the Middle East and diverting British supplies and ships from Russia.

This was Hitler's only hope. It was a move not founded on folly only but on necessity He had to do it.

In the event America kept on sending troops, planes and tanks to Britain, Russia and the Middle East, and Britain kept on sending planes and tanks to Russia and the Middle East and retained them also in her own islands, for the West Front, the decisive front, on which one day the *coup de grace* will be given.

And in spite of this great Anglo-American effort in the European war zone, the Japanese are being held and slowly driven on to the defensive. There is no further hope for Hitler from that quarter. He could only play that last ace once. He has played it and it did not take the trick.

And, when we examine the course of this war and the situation today, we see that Hitler's progress towards his doom has been inevitable and inescapable ever since that day, two years ago today, when Churchill got up in the House of Commons and later went to the microphone to declare that Britain would continue the war.

That was the first of Hitler's miscalculations that mattered, and from it flowed all the others. If Britain had not fought on, Russia would in Hitler's own good time have been destroyed easily and swiftly, there would have been no fear of a two-front war, no miraculous British recovery, no heroic resistance by the conquered countries in Europe, and America would indeed have been too late.

Defeat in North Africa

JUNE 24, 1942

Leaving aside some of the writers and speakers, I haven't found anyone in this country whose faith in our not long delayed triumph over the Axis has been in the slightest degree shaken by the events in North Africa.* There is plenty of disappointment and some irritation at seeing what we hoped would be a resounding victory suddenly snatched from us and turned into a nasty defeat, but the ordinary folk of this land, used to the ups and downs of life and always inclined to approach good fortune with the rooted belief that there is a catch in it somewhere, have by no means allowed themselves to be dismayed or depressed.

After all, when you consider what we have been through and what disasters we have survived, it is hardly surprising that those of us who have our heads screwed on, as we say, take the Eighth Army's misfortunes calmly and philosophically.

It's only 24 months ago today that Hitler declared that the war in the west was ended, and that the final annihilating blow would soon be delivered on British soil. I wonder what the German newspapers and radio, and the members of the Reichstag would have to say about that, if they were free to speak their minds, now that two years later Germany finds herself preparing to resist an Anglo-American invasion in the west while at the same time engaged in a major campaign in Egypt and locked in mortal combat in Russia.

Today in the summer of 1942, the Germans make as much fuss and clamour about a victory in North Africa over a small fraction of the vast allied forces arrayed against them as they did in 1940 when they had destroyed all the armies in the field against them. That, I think, is a sure enough sign of the decline of the Third Reich.

Indeed, had we had any tendency to become despondent over recent events, it would have been completely removed by the hysterical and exaggerated exultation of our enemy at the first victory he has been able to acclaim for a long time.

The massacre of the Jews in Poland

JUNE 26, 1942

When I read the Polish Government's report on the massacre of the Jews in Poland I felt sick. We're pretty used by now to reading about

* June 21, 1942. Germans capture Tobruk.

the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis in the name of the German people but this record of ghastly and sadistic bestiality goes far beyond anything of which we hitherto believed any men, however degraded and corrupted, could be capable.

If in this country any man were to treat dogs and cats as the Nazis have treated Jewish women and children by the thousand, he would be sent to a criminal lunatic asylum for the rest of his life. Yet the men who have done this fearful deed in Poland against their fellow human beings, are the rulers of a nation which has boasted of its civilisation, has blasphemously claimed to lead a European Crusade and to have the right to establish a New Order which would endure for 1,000 years.

There have been other massacres in the dark days of mankind's history, but never has there been one so cold-blooded, deliberate, systematic and attended by such revolting circumstances of cruelty.

The smell of death is over Europe, a foul miasma emanating from the putrid corruption of the diabolical cult of Hitler, the Satanic apostle of Death.

Men, women and children gassed to death in mobile lethal chambers, dragged from their homes and battered to death by tens of thousands and left lying in the streets, the throats of thousands more slit like pigs! If these disgusting things go on, the Death which Hitler has let loose in Europe will assuredly strike down the people who have given him his devilish power and they will perish in the wrath of God and Man.

These Jews so foully done to death were our brothers and sisters, comrades in the struggle against Hitlerism and for a happier life for humanity. If I single them out it is because their special suffering earns for them a special honour. For ten long years they have endured the humiliation and tortures to which all the Nazis' victims have been more recently subjected. And still their cup of suffering is filled with more overflowing measure than that of any other section of martyred humanity.

Let the peoples of Europe today show that they stand in perfect solidarity with their Jewish brethren. Let them demonstrate their abhorrence of these beastly crimes.

Let no one in Europe who condones or accepts them passively expect the sympathy or help of any decent man in this country.

As for the German people, Hitler's accomplices, let them reflect that it is a dangerous thing to try to exterminate an entire people unless you are very, very sure of victory.

It would be wise of the German people to show in no unmistakable manner, before it is too late, that they also abhor the actions of the criminal lunatics who for the moment hold sway in Germany.

Counting the days to winter

JUNE 29, 1942

We stand on the threshold of July, with less than one hundred days to go before the first onset of winter. The same period of one hundred days has passed since the last winter yielded to spring and everyone began to talk of the great German spring offensive, that tremendous smashing blow which, according to Hitler's own promise, was to be delivered along the entire Russian front and to result in the destruction of the Red Army this summer, that sweeping grandiose pincers movement which was, according to Nazi spokesmen, to bring the Japanese driving across a prostrate India up the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to join hands with their Axis partners in Asia Minor.

One hundred days of spring and summer have passed and what has happened? The Germans and Italians are certainly deep into Egypt and far advanced in their progress towards the Suez Canal, one part of their plan, but they are by no means there yet and they are very behindhand in their timetable. They were to have been in Cairo by April, and then it was to have been May which was to have seen Rommel holding court in Shepherd's Hotel. The British Eighth Army was to have been annihilated more than a month ago. It is not annihilated yet but is fighting as every British Army fights when it is up against great odds.

The enemy might get to the Nile Delta but where would he go from there? The Allies are in Syria, Palestine and Irak; they are in the Sudan, Eritrea and Abyssinia. Does anyone imagine that the Axis, with their three panzer divisions and half-dozen or so divisions of infantry can overrun Africa and Asia Minor? And, unless they can, they are going to have to meet a tremendous counter-blow from the East or South.

If I were a German I shouldn't be very impressed by Rommel's achievements in North Africa, brilliant though they certainly have been from a military point of view. I should rather be asking what has happened to the rest of the plan, the destruction of the Red Armies, the dazzling break-through to the Caucasus, the Japanese drive through the Indian Ocean, the removal of the threat in the West by the U-boat war, and, above all, why Britain, impotent and paralysed, can put 1,000 bombers over Bremen in a night? Bremen a city, incidentally, half the size of Bristol, may well wonder what is the value of victories in Africa which fail to keep the war out of Germany.

In a hundred days of spring and summer the Germans have achieved in Russia only the recapture of the Kerch Peninsula, which they lost in the winter, the recovery of some territory round Kharkov and the Donetz, which they lost in the winter and as recently as May, and some slow and fearfully sanguinary progress against Sebastopol, whose imminent fall they announced seven months ago.

One year ago today, a week after their invasion of Russia, the German High Command made twelve special announcements, complete with fanfares, to the effect that the Red Army's tank force was practically crushed and the Red Air Force reduced to virtual impotence. That was proved a lie but the Germans had certainly made swift and dangerous progress in Russia by this time a year ago, and still they were overtaken by the winter. Today, with only one hundred days to go before the first snow in Russia, the Germans have made no swift or dangerous progress as yet. They may well in the days ahead make deep advances but they are already very late.

As for Japan's part in the great master-plan, where does the news of Japan's war effort come from now? Not from the Indian Ocean, since the abortive attack on the British base in Ceylon many weeks ago and the British occupation of Madagascar, but from the remote Pacific and from China.

That cannot be much comfort to the people of blitzed Bremen, Cologne and Essen or to the citizens of the other German cities now awaiting their turn.

These Germans are now being asked by their leaders to welcome the British bombing because it enables them to understand the sufferings of the army at the front and closes the spiritual rift between the Home and the Front.

The suggestion is made that this will improve Germany's war effort, that the Germans in Germany will be more reconciled to the slaughter of their menfolk at the front because there is death and destruction at home as well, that the German soldiers will be more content to endure their bloody ordeal because their families are in peril, too, at home.

If that is true why did Goering think it a good idea at the start of the war to promise the Germans that, whatever happened, no bomb would fall in the Reich?

No, if I were a German, I shouldn't be rejoicing about Mersa Matruh but counting the days to winter and wondering whether I should be happier, when it comes to think, of my friends and relations being frozen to death in another Russian winter just because other friends and relations were having at home to suffer bombs, hunger and cold.

Taking it all in all I'd sooner be on our side than theirs, even if I could only look ahead one hundred days.

Impressions from the country

JULY 16, 1942

I've been away for a time. I've been travelling about the country, right up north to Scotland and away down west to Somerset. I've

been in trains and 'buses and I've been talking to the ordinary people of this country about the war.

And this is the impression that I've formed of the opinion of the general run of common folk.

They're not in the slightest perturbed or worried by the German successes in the field. They all remember, or have heard from the elder folk, how the Germans lashed out in the *last* war and secured dazzling military successes long after it had been definitely decided by America's entry into the war that they could not win.

Everywhere I went I found the same feeling: now that America is in it won't be long! They always knew, these people with whom I talked, Scots, Midlanders, West Countrymen and all the rest of them, that if it came to the pinch, we should beat the Germans alone – because we have all the fighting qualities the Germans have and, in addition, those tremendous victory-making assets of free institutions and sea power. They were quite sure we should win when we were alone. So it's not surprising that they are confident that, with the Russians and Americans with us, we shall gain a triumph more complete than has ever before been witnessed in the world's history.

Certainly the citizens of Britain are irritated and annoyed by apparent mistakes and shortcomings on our own part which seem to *delay* victory, but no one that I have met has any doubt of the result of the conflict.

They all recognise in the terrific German efforts, in Russia and in Egypt, to secure some decisive victory, a reproduction of the vain efforts of all their enemies in the past to deliver a blow which would knock-out the British.

There is no complacency in Britain, but there is the unlimited confidence which can withstand the efforts of public spokesmen to destroy what they consider to be complacency.

The situation in India

AUGUST 4, 1942

People in Europe are probably pretty puzzled about what is happening in India. Well so, to tell you the truth, are the ordinary folk in Britain. We read in our newspapers that Gandhi and Nehru and their Congress Party are about to start a movement of resistance to the British authorities because the British will not agree, with the Japanese just across the frontier, to stop fighting the war and to plunge the strategically vital sub-continent of India into political turmoil.

We could understand it if the Congress leaders were Fascists and

friends of Hitler but they are professed democrats and bitter enemies of Fascism. They declare that they are fighting for freedom and yet they demand the abolition of the one authority which at present is capable of defending India's freedom against the Japanese.

Gandhi and Nehru have repeatedly declared their detestation of Hitler and all he stands for and yet, rather than wait a short time for the independence that Britain has promised India after the war, they are prepared to act in a way which might prolong the war and postpone India's freedom – not to mention the freedom of Europe and the rest of the world – for a considerable period.

The ordinary people of Britain have for a long time been in favour of India achieving full self-government and, if she wants it, independence. When we say we are fighting for the freedom of all peoples we mean it and the proof of our sincerity was given when Cripps, with the support of the entire nation, went to India with the offer of complete independence, including the right to secede from the British Commonwealth, after we had beaten Hitler and the Japanese.

We even respect Gandhi's right to be a pacifist, just as we allow our own citizens in this country to exercise a conscientious objection to fighting. But what we won't tolerate is any attempt by pacifists and fanatics of any kind to interfere with our efforts to smash Hitlerism.

The behaviour of the Indian Congress leaders has certainly forfeited the great sympathy which has hitherto been felt for them in this country. We consider that they are behaving like silly children and, if they continue to do so, our Government will have the people's full support in treating them as such.

We shall not now, after nearly three years of bitter struggle, permit a handful of cranks to hinder us in our task of winning liberty for all the peoples of Europe. When we have done that, then we shall be ready to tackle the task of establishing Indian self-government – a difficult enough task in time of peace, let alone in the midst of a great war. India will achieve her freedom, as we have promised, but it looks as if she will do so in spite of, and not because of, her self-appointed leaders.

Munich dies

AUGUST 5, 1942

So today the Munich Agreement was given its *coup de grace*. British newspapers hailed Mr. Eden's statement in Parliament that that ill-conceived pact was null and void with the headline 'Munich Dies.'

We are all heartily glad that the present British Government has made full amends now for the fault of its predecessor. We are all de-

lighted to see that that ill-fated attempt to negotiate with Hitler has been repudiated, that misguided effort to treat the Nazi rulers of the Third Reich as ordinary decent men of their word has been consigned to oblivion.

When the Munich Agreement was signed there were three main currents of opinion in this country. There were those who honestly believed that it was possible to avert war by satisfying German claims to bring all Germans into the Reich; there were those who saw through Hitler's tactics but believed that we needed time to prepare for the inevitable war; and there were those also who felt so besmirched by our apparent readiness to sacrifice a small nation that they would have preferred then and there to have accepted Hitler's challenge to war.

I can frankly admit that I was one of those who would have preferred to have challenged Hitler with arms then. But many of my fellow-countrymen still believed that it was possible to negotiate with Hitler, that his declaration that he wanted no Czechs in the Third Reich and that his demand for the Sudetenland was indeed his last territorial demand, were genuine statements of policy. After all, we, in this country, have been for many years accustomed to believe that important statements of policy by responsible statesmen mean what they say.

Well, now we have learnt to our cost that whenever the Germans say a thing we must believe the opposite, that no straightforward statement of German intentions or plans can be expected, but that every declaration from the Reich must be mistrusted.

We have learnt that lesson and there will be no temptation here, ever, to negotiate or parley with the Germans.

The iron of Munich has entered very deeply into our soul. It will be a long time before we ever trust a German again.

That has been true ever since we declared war on the Germans in September 1939. This is only an occasion to repeat with emphasis that we have learnt our lesson.

But, forgetting the past, let us look forward. This statement in the House of Commons today annulling the Munich Agreement means that now we are ready to consider the post-war world in practical terms. For a long time we have repudiated the spirit of Munich – we did so in our darkest hour in 1940, when, with our own heads only just above water, we pledged ourselves to free the Czechs – but now we have got beyond that. We see our way clear to consider the post-war shape of Europe, the frontiers which we shall recognise when the Third Reich has been overthrown.

It is we who are planning the future and not the Germans, whose idea of a continent of slave peoples ruled by the S.S. can now be seen as a nightmare that has passed.

The Red Army's offensive on the central front

AUGUST 27, 1942

The German Army is falling back on a wide front. That news must bring a foretaste of doom to all who have counted on a German victory.

The news of the Red Army's offensive on the central Russian front has been received here in London with a deepening of our already profound admiration for the amazing Russian nation.

For more than a month one of the greatest battles of all time has been raging on the Don opposite Stalingrad while in the Caucasus the Soviet has been carrying out in perfect order the most difficult operation of all – a long fighting retreat.

And yet, at the height of the campaign in the south, the Soviet High Command has coolly and skilfully struck hard in the centre.

Now it can be seen how very badly German plans have already gone wrong in 1942. The plan was to break through at Voronezh – falsely claimed by Berlin nearly two months ago – split the Soviet central and southern armies and develop at the end of July a double offensive south against Stalingrad and north against Moscow. The German failure at Voronezh – one of the decisive battles of the war – frustrated that plan and so a substitute was devised: a defensive front was established from Voronezh to Leningrad and the full force of German striking power was diverted south to the Don bend and the Caucasus.

The break through to the Caucasus succeeded and has taken the German Army so fast and far away to the south that the campaign there is, from the supply point of view, coming rapidly to resemble the campaign in North Africa. But in the Don bend, the German plan for a swift seizure of Stalingrad failed once more and Bock has been subjected to terrible losses and weeks of delay, with the issue still in doubt. As for the plan of holding a purely defensive line from Voronezh to Leningrad and releasing forces from there to assist the Stalingrad push, well, the Red Army's break through on a 75-mile front and the rout of nine German divisions has smashed that plan into little pieces.

Today the German Army is being bled white not only in the desperate effort to capture Stalingrad at all costs but also in the equally costly attempt to check the Red Army at Rzhev and Vyasma.

And yet only a few days ago the Nazis were describing Churchill's visit to Moscow as a frantic and despairing effort to persuade the Soviet to continue a hopeless resistance. While Churchill was in the capital of a Russia supposed to be at the point of collapse, the Red Army was already launching its successful assault.

And so Germany approaches the end of the third year of Hitler's war with tens of thousands of her men falling in one of those decisive

German offensives which never bring a decision and with tens of thousands more dying in desperate attempts to hold a line.

German miscalculation

SEPTEMBER 1, 1942

Three years ago today Hitler launched the second World War, a war designed to secure for an international clique of profiteers and gangsters, employing an international S.S. force of thugs and bullies, the power to monopolise the wealth of the world produced by an exploited and enslaved working class of all nations, including the Germans.

Already, years before 1939, the first moves in this conspiracy against mankind had been made, in Austria, in Spain, and in Czechoslovakia and three years ago today Hitler thought, judging from the ease with which he had carried out these preliminary operations, that it was safe for him to move again.

So he moved against Poland and no doubt the Nazis are honest in their protestations that they did not intend their attack upon the Poles to precipitate a war against the world. Oh no, they certainly didn't. They hoped to be able to continue the process of conquering the world piecemeal.

Hitler planned this war on the assumption that he could swiftly destroy his potential opponents one by one. It was a gratuitous breach of the peace of the world which neither needed nor desired German hegemony to cure the economic and social ills which resulted from the first German bid for world domination.

The entire German plan was based on a complete misjudgment of human character, the belief that the British would not fight or would cave in after a token declaration of war, that the conquered countries would collaborate, that Russia could be disposed of summarily, that the Americans would dither and dally until too late, and so on.

The consequences of starting this war on such false assumptions are now about to be really felt by the Germans.

We always said that the war would be long, that our strength would grow and Germany's wane. They said two years ago that the war was about to end; they said the same a year ago; now it is about to enter its fourth year with the Allies stronger and the Axis weaker than ever before. Everything we have said in the past has been borne out by events. Everything they have said has been falsified.

It was just the same in the last war. The rulers of Germany in the last war realised quite clearly that Germany had lost the war, but they none the less continued to lie, with the result that defeat came as a stunning blow to the German people because it was so unexpected by them.

On September 1, 1918, Winterfeldt, liaison officer between Ludendorff and the Reich Chancellor, said: 'The Supreme Command looks forward with confidence to the decisive battle.'

On September 2, 1918, Hindenburg said: 'We have enforced peace in the east, and we are strong enough to do the same in the west in spite of the Americans' - just what the Nazis are preparing to say this autumn.

As the Reichstag Conservative leader, Heydebrand, said afterwards: 'We have been lied to and cheated all the time.'

Lied to and cheated all the time! Lied to about the progress of the war and about its origin.

A fortnight ago Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich*: 'It would be quite wrong to derive the meaning of the war from the immediate pretext that started it. It would be stupid to suppose that we would content ourselves with Danzig and an autobahn through the former Polish Corridor.'

Goebbels added: 'This is merely a question of power and not of morality.'

Today the German radio, in a broadcast to the German people, declared that Germany's invasion of Poland was 'merely a limited punitive action against Polish megalomania.'

It was really Great Britain and France who started the war - by declaring war against Germany.

Let us from London tell the blunt truth; the war is not indeed being fought about Danzig and the Polish Corridor but it was Germany's invasion of Poland which set the world ablaze. Britain and France certainly put an end to the murder of the civilised nations one by one and forced Hitler to fight the world.

We accept that responsibility. Indeed we glory in it. We took up our arms to prevent the piecemeal destruction of all that mankind has achieved in the past twenty centuries.

That the invasion of Poland three years ago today should have immediately brought Germany into a war to the death with Britain was the greatest of all Hitler's miscalculations.

With the experiences of the last war still fresh in his mind and when he was writing *Mein Kampf* Hitler's judgment of Britain was more correct. He said then:

'The British nation will therefore be considered as the most valuable ally in the world so long as it can be counted upon to show that tenacity in its government, as well as in the spirit of the broad masses, which enables it to carry through to victory any struggle that it once enters upon, no matter how long such a struggle may last or however great the sacrifices that may be necessary; and all this even though the actual military equipment at hand may be utterly inadequate when compared with that of other nations.'

'England has always had the armament which she needed. She

always fought with those weapons which were necessary for success . . . she never hesitated to draw heavily and deeply from the best blood of the whole nation when victory could be obtained only by such sacrifice, and in every case the fighting spirit and dogged determination in conducting military operations have always remained the same.'

It would have been better for Germany if, in his megalomania he had not eagerly accepted in later years the estimate of Britain of such men as Ribbentrop and Goebbels, with his grubby-minded sneers about Britain fighting to her last ally.

Fighting French repudiate Munich

SEPTEMBER 29, 1942

The outstanding political development of the day is the signature by the Czechoslovak Government and the Fighting French of an agreement repudiating the Munich Agreement of 1938.

It is the spirit of Munich which led to the capitulation of France. A disaster which nearly brought about not only the defeat of Britain but the destruction of the whole of civilisation. Today, this same spirit of Munich reigns in Vichy and is Laval's only hope (and a slender one at that) of being able to plunge France once again into defeatism and collaboration.

The signature of the Fighting French to this agreement finally severs them from the evil interlude of the 1930's and confirms their right to speak for the true France, the France of Clemenceau. It was this France that helped to bring the democratic and enlightened Czechoslovak Republic into existence.

The France of the future now takes her stand alongside the other Allies for the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic, repudiating the cession of the Sudetenland just as it repudiates the cession of Alsace Lorraine. Moreover, the France of today repudiates the defeatism and timidity which brought the old France to dishonour and disaster. The France of today condemns the men of Munich who played the leading part in this calamity.

Thus today's agreement symbolises the restoration of the democratic French Republic as well as that of the Czechoslovak Republic.

One more step has been taken in restoring the European comity of nations and the Third Reich cannot go on unless this comity of nations is destroyed.

Reprisals - Japanese and German

OCTOBER 19, 1942

There are times when, however hardened we may have grown, however determined not to give way to our emotions, we are reduced to a condition of almost speechless anger by the conduct of our enemy. At such times we wonder almost with despair which is the more ghastly - the things the enemy do or the things they say to justify their deeds.

As far as I'm concerned it is the hypocrisy with which they accompany their brutality which disgusts me most.

These reflections are of course the result of reading today that American airmen have been court-martialled and punished by the Japanese for their part in the daring raid on Tokio, an item of news broadcast by Berlin with evident approval and relish.

This news follows that of yesterday that relatives of Czech leaders in London have been taken by the Germans as hostages as a reprisal for the part played by the Czechoslovak Government in waging war against Germany.

It is impossible not to connect the Tokio announcement and the action in Czechoslovakia with the chaining by Germany of British prisoners of war.

As an American said, broadcasting from London last night:

'Up to now the Germans have made some difference between the war in the East and in the West. They have been cruel to the French and the Norwegians. They have been infinitely more harsh towards the Russians, the Poles or the Yugoslavs.

'It seems likely that, beginning to feel menaced in the West, the Germans are preparing their people for a Second Front in which they'll throw all the rules of war out of the window - just as they've done in the East.'

I think that American is right and the same applies to Japan, who is also now beginning to feel menaced by a Second Front. And speaking as an ordinary British citizen, I will say this:

Most of us over here have never had any illusions about the Nazis and their friends and the way they make war. Nor have we had any desire to be given by them any treatment different from that meted out to our Allies. We have never thought that it was either desirable or, in the long run, possible that the Germans and Japanese should fight a milder, more gentlemanly, kind of war against us than they fight against the Russians, and the Chinese, or for that matter against all our Allies. We have always known that any consideration or apparent decency which they might have shown towards us - and in their raids on our cities and in their U-boat warfare they certainly have shown none - we

have always known that in any observance of the codes of civilised warfare so far as we were concerned, our enemies were actuated by a belief that *thus* we could be kept from waging this war with all our energy and could be eventually persuaded to make a peace of compromise. We have never been under any illusion about the reason for the so-called 'phoney' war of the first nine months, when both we and the French were so tenderly treated. We saw the reason for that when the French Government capitulated in 1940, leaving it for the French people to find out later how chivalrously the Nazis treat a defeated foe.

Therefore, we and the Americans with us, welcome the application of German and Japanese savagery to us as the final proof that the enemy fear us and therefore hate us as deeply as all their other foes, that they no longer have anything to hope from us but war waged to the limit.

If we do not meet savagery with savagery, brutality with brutality, bestiality with bestiality, it is not because we do not recognise that this is total war against a merciless enemy but because we prefer to retain our own finer standards of conduct.

I repeat; we do not desire preferential treatment at the hands of the enemy.

In Poland there are two camps for prisoners of war – one for British soldiers and one for Russians. They are next to each other. The British prisoners learnt that the Russian prisoners were fed on the swill – the waste – left over from their own meals. What did these British soldiers do? Congratulate themselves on the fact that they were better fed than their Russian comrades? Not a bit of it! Next time they received parcels of food from home they threw them all into the buckets of swill which were to be taken to the Russian camp.

That action by our prisoners of war is symbolic of the feeling of this country as a whole. We shall fight the enemy as we believe in fighting – cleanly but with all our hearts and souls – holding back nothing. But if the enemy abandons his forlorn hope in treating us more gently than he treats our friends – whether Jewish or Gentile, then we shall accept it as a compliment, as a sign of his fear of us, of his recognition that we are his enemies to the death, of his hatred of us.

To be hated by the Nazis and their accomplices! That indeed is the supreme honour which a decent man can earn.

Twenty years of Fascism

OCTOBER 27, 1942

Fascism is twenty years older than it was in 1922. So is Mussolini. Neither has become more impressive with the years. . . .

Even the Greeks, tragic though their conditions are, cannot keep the laughter from their tight lips and hard eyes when they remember what happened to Mussolini and his tinsel Empire when, two years ago tomorrow, it fell greedily upon little Greece, thirsting for glory and plunder.

That was a fitting celebration of eighteen years of Fascism, that cowardly, despicable assault on Greece. No deed would have better symbolised the true nature of that bullying creed. And no fate could have more thoroughly exposed the fraud and sham of Fascist might. Defeat and disgrace at the hands of the tiny Greek nation. What a climax to the career of the man who betrayed Austria, struck down Albania, bludgeoned Abyssinia, used stricken Spain as a rehearsal ground for mass murder, deserted Poland and stabbed France in the back!

If I were an Italian I should not forgive the ruler who has made Italy a laughing-stock throughout the world, Italy who twenty-four years ago stood proudly among the victors over the Teutonic enemy of all that has made Italy great in the past.

Fascism, twenty years old tomorrow, approaches its end amid universal scorn and ridicule.

This tawdry, decrepit, tottering structure, toppling towards its doom, is that dazzling vision of political genius which deceived so many fools for so many years. This is the brilliant new system which made the trains in Italy run to time and which set the model for every ambitious adventurer and enemy of the people in Europe who wished to play the dictator.

Well, the trains perhaps ran to time, but so now do the British bombers, arriving regularly to schedule in Milan and Genoa and Turin. And what was a joke, a piece of buffoonery designed by charlatans for the undoing of blockheads, has become a tragedy which must be suffered by all the innocent and helpless people in the world.

No, it is not after all a laughing matter. Mussolini is ridiculous enough but what he has done to the world, and, above all, his own people, is beyond jesting. Mussolini is a bad joke.

Strike action in Europe

NOVEMBER 3, 1942

It is reported today that foreign workers in Dortmund, Germany, recently went on strike in protest against the arrest by the Gestapo of Poles who were accused of having sunk a big coal barge.

Now that's something - something pretty important. Foreign work-

ers, Bulgars, Yugoslavs, Frenchmen and Italians – Italians mind you – going on strike in solidarity with Polish fellow workers.

A strike among foreign labourers in Germany is something for the Gestapo and S.S. to think about. There are millions of these foreigners in the Reich and if they stand together in real workers' solidarity they will give the Nazis plenty of trouble. The strike is a very powerful weapon when wielded by millions of resolute men. Perhaps one day there will be a general strike of foreign workers all over Germany, with Germans joining in.

The French workers have shown what *la grève* can do. It was the threat of a general strike which made Laval drop his plan to conscript the skilled labour of unoccupied France which Germany needs so desperately.

The Greek people have shown what the strike can do, forcing the Germans to stop plundering their food at least temporarily.

What would happen if all the workers of all the occupied countries were together at one signal to go on strike just at a moment when the Germans were fully engaged on two fronts against the Allied armies?

El Alamein

NOVEMBER 6, 1942

The ordinary British citizen, I think, takes a very simple view of the Eighth Army's great victory over Rommel.

He is tremendously pleased, enormously proud of his fellow-countrymen who did the fighting, rather wistful because he was not there himself to help chase the Germans – but he is not particularly surprised.

Some people appear to be astonished that we've been able to beat the Germans. Because the German Army, after training, preparing and piling up weapons for years, was too good for us in the first years of the war – even as recently as this summer in fact – these dismal folk became fascinated with the myth that the Germans are better soldiers than the British.

But these are not the normal people. The ordinary citizen over here is not surprised by our victory because he always knew that the British soldier could beat the Germans – just as he did in the last war. We knew that, given the arms and the leaders, our men could do what even the geniuses of the German General Staff thought was impossible.

And they did it. In July the Eighth Army, after a retreat of hundreds of miles, turned at bay at El Alamein to face the elated German Army. The positions were strong, but the British soldiers were tired and badly short of equipment after their defeat in the desert. The German Army

was elated and confident of a quick break-through to the Nile. But the assault failed. The storming of these positions was too much for the German soldiers even against tired troops short of equipment.

The Germans tried again in September. They failed again.

A fortnight ago the British infantry went forward in a frontal attack on positions naturally as strong as those they had themselves held and fortified with all the German skill and thoroughness. They were matched against a fresh and strongly reinforced enemy.

The British Tommies took those positions by storm. The rest followed.

There are millions more British Tommies, just like those who stormed the German defences in Egypt. Rommel knew exactly where the British Army had to attack at El Alamein, but Runstedt can take his choice from a dozen different places between the North Cape of Norway and the Bay of Biscay where the Navy can take the soldiers to storm the defences of Hitler's European Fortress. That makes a big difference.

News from behind the battlefronts

NOVEMBER 11, 1942

Here in Britain we are following the course of military and naval events with the keenest interest and no small elation. We are rejoicing in the advance of our two splendid armies in North Africa, in the continual success of the magnificent Red Army in keeping the Germans out of their desperately needed winter line on the Volga and in the Caucasus, and in the fine victory scored by an American battle fleet in the Pacific over a superior Japanese battle fleet.

But we are not, in spite of our interest and pleasure in the swiftly unfolding pattern of the United Nations' offensive, losing sight of the problems which will face us when at last the Axis has been overthrown.

And I must say that for me, personally, the news which has been most cheering and indeed exhilarating in the past few days has not come from the battlefronts but from behind them. I mean recent statements by those leaders of the United Nations who not only direct the strategy of the war but are laying the foundations of the peace, who have not only to consider military moves but political principles.

First we had the frank speech by Stalin, declaring that, while it was ridiculous to deny the political, social and ideological differences between the Soviet and its Western Allies, all of us were nevertheless bound together by unbreakable bonds in the same camp against the Nazis and Fascists both during the war and after. Then we had the equally candid and outspoken speech by Churchill recognising without reserve both the tremendous burden borne by Russia in this war and

the justification of Moscow's critical attitude towards us when it seemed that we were inactive, and paying a noteworthy personal tribute to Stalin.

Those two speeches cleared the air wonderfully. They have undoubtedly cemented the partnership of Britain and Russia, both for war and for peace, in a way which must have greatly heartened the peoples of Europe and have dismayed the enemy, who counted so much upon divisions between the Allies.

And now Roosevelt has spoken and acted in a manner which has removed all possibilities of misunderstanding between the United States and their European Allies.

By declaring that the peoples of the United Nations would never understand the recognition or reconstituting of the Vichy Government inside or outside of France; that the future government of France will be settled by the French people themselves; that all persons imprisoned in North Africa because of their opposition to the Axis are being freed; and that all laws and decrees inspired by Nazi Governments or Nazi ideologists are abrogated in North Africa, Roosevelt has shown in the most concrete form possible that victory by the United Nations will in truth mean liberation.

He has shown that when we say 'liberate' we mean it, not just liberation from the physical presence of Germans and Italians but liberation from any regime based by native Fascists on systems imported from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Roosevelt has reaffirmed now, when we are on the offensive, the principles which enabled us, and our friends in Europe, to keep our faith when all seemed nearly lost. He has declared that in the free countries it is the people who ultimately decide the Government's policy, and that in the countries to be liberated, it is the people who will choose their own governments, and not we or anyone else who will dictate to them.

And from the Far East has come a grand declaration by Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Chinese leader. Taking as his text Edith Cavell's last words, 'patriotism alone is not enough', he repudiated the idea that China should after victory take upon herself the leadership of Asia. China, he said, did not wish to take upon herself the mantle of an unworthy Japan. China wishes to bring equality to all the Asiatic peoples, exercising towards them not the rights of a master race or a Fuehrer nation but responsibilities only. China, he said, would be willing to surrender some of the rights of a Sovereign Power.

And finally, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, in a message to America, has declared her country's readiness also to play its part in establishing an international system of security, counselling the world to approach the problem of the beaten enemies not in a spirit of revenge,

which only breeds revenge, but in a spirit of justice and fairness, recognising that there can be no peace settlement which does not solve fully the problem of bringing Germany eventually into the family of nations.

And so, with statements such as these to inspire us, we march forward on the hard road to victory knowing that victory will be worth while.

The church bells ring

NOVEMBER 12, 1942

On Sunday the church bells are to ring throughout Britain for the first time since the island stood in imminent danger of invasion by the German hordes.

A famous victory is to be celebrated, a victory won in Egypt, largely by the men whose kinsfolk will hear the peals which will, for the first time for many, many months echo throughout the land which all of us, at home or abroad, hold so dear.

But we shall not be merely celebrating a victory, our first great and decisive victory on land during this war. We shall be ringing out the old phase of the war and ringing in the new phase – marking with a crash of bells that turning-point in the conflict which we have always known would occur and which we have now witnessed.

The bells tell the story of this war – three and a half years of bitter defence and counter-attack and now the Allies on the offensive. But, just as when things looked black we kept our faith in the bright future so now, when things look bright, we do not doubt that there may be dark moments.

We expect no easy road, no primrose path to victory. The church bells are not ringing in premature triumph but to announce that we now have more than mere faith to point the way to victory, that now we see the road ahead clearly, that we are going forward.

We always knew that, if we held on long enough, we should find that road. We trusted very much that Churchill saw it all along and now we know that, at the very moment when he was inspiring us to stand fast when all seemed nearly lost, he had his eyes fixed on the great strategic path to victory and was planning even then the momentous events which we are now witnessing.

The bells peal out for us the opening of the new offensive phase, and for our friends in Europe the prospect of liberation is for the guilty a knell, tolling out the certain and inevitable doom for all who do not repent before it is too late.

Balkan solidarity

NOVEMBER 30, 1942

The news that Bulgarian soldiers have gone over to the Yugoslav Army of Liberation and are fighting at their side against the Germans, and the further news that Rumanians are also helping the Yugoslavs against the Germans, strikes me as one of the most hopeful signs of sanity we have had for a long time.

It looks as though at last the ordinary people of the Balkans, the soldiers, peasants and workers, are beginning to realise that they must combine to get what ordinary people everywhere really want – the right to work and play in peace, to eat and drink, to read and study and write, to make and listen to music, to paint and exercise their crafts, to till the soil and tend the cattle, to marry and bring up their children.

For so long they have been bemused and led astray by talk of strategic frontiers and national aggrandisement. . . .

For so long – for far too long – the peoples have been set at each others' throats by the dramatisation of ancient history and national feuds, with the sole result that the alien invader and the native exploiter have been able to keep them weak and helpless because divided. But now, it seems, the peoples are beginning overlate to realise that they have never gained anything, and never will, by giving their blood and their hard-earned savings to help those who lust after power and fame to play at power politics. Now at last, it appears, men are starting to understand that they can be proud to be Bulgars or Rumanians without feeling compelled to show it by wronging the Yugoslavs, that they can love their own countries and their culture and customs without hating their neighbours and theirs.

As yet it is only a few Bulgars and a handful of Rumanians who have had their eyes opened. Tens of thousands of Bulgar peasants and workers are still oppressing their Yugoslav and Greek comrades, and tens of thousands of Rumanian peasants and workers are fighting against their Russian comrades. But a beginning has been made and we can hope that the pace will quicken and that before very long the peoples everywhere will understand that, if they stand together to overthrow the evil old system of militarist chauvinism and imperialism, they will be able to build schools instead of barracks, libraries instead of secret police headquarters and will be able to go about their business in safety without a watchful and distrustful eye across the frontier.

Italy will yet fight on our side

DECEMBER 4, 1942

Here in Britain we are very interested in what the Italian people are doing, what they are thinking and what they are feeling.

And very naturally, for the Italians today are facing a situation such as we faced after Dunkirk in 1940. And so we scan very eagerly the news coming out of Italy to find out how they are taking it.

All the reports which we read suggest that there is a very great difference indeed between the way in which Italians of all classes are facing up to their ordeal and the way in which the British of all classes entered upon theirs.

The reports from all neutral quarters, which are too unanimous to be disbelieved, confirm that there is considerable chaos and confusion, a widespread hostility to the régime which brought Italy into this ruinous war, and a general desire to get rid of the régime and its German masters and to get out of their war.

Well, there was nothing like that in Britain when we were confronted with a situation perhaps even more critical than that faced by Italy now.

Why? Why are the Italians behaving so differently from us? Now I don't believe for a moment that it is because we are brave and the Italians are cowards.

No, there is another reason for the present state of affairs in Italy. Here are a people who are faced with suffering and death in a cause in which they are not in the slightest interested. We, in 1940, had a cause in which we believed heart and soul, a Government in which we trusted and which was serving our interests and not those of an alien imperialism. Today the Italians are asked to make sacrifices and endure hardships for a cause which not only is not theirs but is in direct opposition to their traditions of the past, their present interests and their future hopes. They have a Government which cannot even be trusted to provide for their defence, which has disgraced the country, is disgracing it more each day and acts on the orders of the Germans.

No wonder they don't want to fight. Their leaders know it, and know why.

Signor Ansaldo, one of Mussolini's spokesmen, has appealed to them to stick to it, if not for the régime, because the English look down on them.

Our answer to that from Britain is that we shall despise them only if they remain the feeble, weak-willed slaves of a régime which they in their hearts loathe and despise.

We shall recognise that Italy has regained the dignity of which she has been robbed by the Fascists when they are ready to say: 'If we must

suffer and die, let us at least do so in a decent cause, under leadership we respect and with allies we like.'

We believe that day will come.

Here in Britain we do not insult the Italian people by assuming that all they want is peace and their own skins intact at any price. We do them the justice of believing that they are as ready to fight as are we, like them a peace-loving people, for something worth fighting for.

We don't dangle before the eyes of the Italians the illusion of a separate peace – that bait for cowards. On the contrary we are ready to offer them a prospect which brave men can contemplate with quickening pulse – a war worth fighting for a general peace worth having.

We believe that if the Italians remember the great past which together we helped to fashion and look with clear eyes to the great future which we are fashioning – so far without their help – they will recognise the true character of their present position and what it demands.

Italy's allies

DECEMBER 10, 1942

It is just a year ago since Germany and Italy declared war on the United States of America and embraced the barbaric Japanese Empire as an ally and friend against the Anglo-Saxon champions of Western civilisation and against China, pioneer in many ways of all world civilisation and representative of all that is best in Oriental culture.

Hitler and his vassal Mussolini thought that they had made a good bargain. Japan, they believed, would keep America so busy that Britain and Russia would be isolated from American assistance. They even dreamed beautiful dreams of the Japanese army, air force and fleet disposing rapidly of the Anglo-Saxons in the Pacific and in India, and then helping in the destruction of Russia and Britain as a prelude to the conquest of America itself.

Well, the people of Italy know now what has happened to that lovely dream. They know what kind of a bargain they have got by making Japan their ally and America, as well as Britain – on whom their government also declared war – the enemy of their country.

The people of Naples and Turin know it and so do all the Italian soldiers betrayed and deserted by Rommel in Egypt when British and American aircraft and tanks had smashed his arrogant panzer army at El Alamein.

The people of Italy know, too, how much assistance Mussolini has received from Japan in recovering the Italian African Empire so wantonly thrown away.

The mothers, wives and sweethearts of the Italian soldiers marooned in the icy wastes of Russia know how much help their men have had from the Japanese.

The people of Italy have secured by their alliance with Japan only the terrible disgrace of fighting in the same camp with a Power described today by the former American Ambassador in Tokio, Joseph Grew, who knows the Japanese well, as a military machine distinguished by cruelty, brutality, utter bestiality, ruthlessness and rapaciousness.

When this disgrace is added to the shame heaped upon Italy by alliance with the Nazi murderers of Poles and Belgians, that Nazi machine, which, driven on to the defensive on every battlefield, can launch a bloody offensive only against the helpless Jewish people – then the Italian people can see what kind of a bargain Mussolini has made for them.

Let them consider this. In Germany and even in their own country Italians are the slaves of the Nazis and Fascists. Not only are the prisons and concentration camps full of Italian opponents of the régime but the Italian workers, still nominally free, are guarded as if they were enemies; while in America tens of thousands of Italians, though nominally enemy aliens, are being given the full liberties and rights of free and loyal citizens.

Does not this alone prove to the Italian people that it is the Nazis and Fascists who regard them as potential enemies, not to be trusted, while we believe sincerely that, once freed from the Nazi and Fascist yoke, they would be friends on whom we could rely to join in the struggle against the Nazi, Fascist and Japanese foes of our common civilisation? . . .

We and the Americans say this to the Italians: 'You have a great disgrace to wipe out. We believe that you wish to do this and to re-establish Italy's good fame in the world. Now that we are growing stronger and coming nearer, while Germany is hard pressed from all sides, the day is approaching when your chance will come. We do not believe that the Italy which we have honoured and even loved in the past is dead or that it will fail to take this great chance of joining in the final victorious offensive which will storm into Germany, instead of continuing to fight a hopeless defensive war on its own soil.'

I hope that history will be able to record that, before this conflict is over, Fascist Italy, which had proved its incapacity to wage war, died its death and a free Italy arose on its ruins to prove to the world once more that Italians, given a cause worth fighting for, yield to no one in their martial spirit and valour.

Italy wants peace. We all want peace. But there can be no peace for any of us until the Nazis and Fascists have been destroyed.

1943

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<i>March 1</i>	Ribbentrop in Rome.
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<i>August 27</i>	The Danes arise.
<i>September 3</i>	British troops back in Europe.
<i>September 9</i>	True colours.
<i>September 13</i>	Mussolini or the Italian fleet.
<i>September 15</i>	Hitler's clock strikes midnight.
<i>September 18</i>	Two broken-down actors.
<i>September 19</i>	The secret weapon.
<i>September 27</i>	Ghosts.
<i>October 17</i>	Long or short war?
<i>October 26</i>	Evolution in Russia.
<i>November 3</i>	A world safe for democracy.
<i>November 16</i>	Crisis in the Lebanon.

- November 26* The Anti-Comintern Pact.
December 3 Smuts' speech.
December 12 Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty.
December 13 Stern words to Sweden.
December 29 German defeat at sea.

Killing for its own sake

JANUARY 4, 1943

I read in my newspaper today that German aircraft had on Sunday afternoon bombed a church in the Isle of Wight, killing a small number of children at Sunday School in the next building.

And I felt savage and angry – much savager and angrier than I felt in 1940, when the German airmen were killing hundreds of our children night after night.

I thought of my own little son and I reflected that, if he had been killed in a German air raid in 1940, when the Germans were still raiding us in great strength and hoped to win this war by using their superior air force in mass attacks aimed at crushing our resistance, then I should have accepted the loss with great grief but as part of the price of this total war between the forces of good and evil, as part of the sacrifice which I had to make.

When it was a possibility that the Nazis might win this war we accepted the individual tragedies as part of the cost of preventing their victory.

But now, when the tide of war has so completely and decisively turned against Germany, the loss of life involved in its continuation seems so completely wanton and senseless that it makes me, for one, very angry indeed. . . .

Siege of Leningrad raised

JANUARY 18, 1943

Tonight in London the word Leningrad is on everybody's lips,* What a story of almost superhuman heroism is told in that one word "Leningrad."

* January 18, 1943. Siege of Leningrad raised.

We in London once lived in a threatened city – a city which Hitler said he would enter in triumph before the leaves fell. For months we too lived under the enemy's fire when, after having failed to take Britain by storm, the Germans tried to batter us into submission. But we Londoners know well enough that of these tales of two cities, London and Leningrad, it is the epic of Leningrad which must take pride of place.

Sixteen months ago the Germans announced the imminent fall of Leningrad. They called on it to capitulate, threatening the city with the fate of Warsaw.

The people of Leningrad, citizens of no mean city, flung the challenge back in Hitler's face, flocked to the city's defences and took their hammering.

The German Army was checked for the first time in its march across Europe and Hitler said that he would reduce the city by siege and starvation – just as he said he would starve us into submission when he failed to conquer us by storm.

What Leningrad suffered in hunger and privation in those bitter winter months of blockade may one day be told. It can never be imagined. But Leningrad held out, the first city to stop the onrush of the invincible German Army.

The example of Leningrad, which first proved that a great city prepared to carry resistance to extremities can baulk the greatest war machine, inspired the citizens of Moscow, of Voronezh and of Stalingrad to their heroic resistance.

Today Stalingrad is a graveyard of a great German Army, sacrificed on the altar of Hitler's megalomania, and Leningrad has become the latest triumph of Russian arms and the latest and most spectacular chapter in the tale of Hitler's downfall.

Tonight we in London, with all the peoples of Europe, greet with heartfelt admiration and gratitude the people and garrison of Leningrad and the great Red Army which has brought about their relief.

Leningrad, hungry in the iron grip of the German Army for so long and now freed, is a portent for all Europe, which, also, will be freed from the weakening grasp in which a doomed tyranny holds a famished continent.

Black Friday

JANUARY 22, 1943

January the 22nd will go down in history as one of the great dates, one of the outstanding milestones in humanity's road to liberation and Hitler's road to perdition.

For three reasons: the news from Africa that the British Army stands at the gates of Tripoli, the Russian communiqué announcing the fall of Salsk, and the German communiqué announcing the defeat of the German Army in the Caucasus, the disaster to the German Army at Stalingrad and the threat of even greater calamities to come, with the Russians (in the words of the High Command) assembling for a breakthrough on the whole southern front.

A Black Day indeed for the German Army and a Blacker Day still for the people of Italy. Black Friday!

What an astonishing and dramatic turning of the tables since the summer, when Rommel stood at the gates of Alexandria and Cairo while the German Army in the East was surging forward to Stalingrad and the oil of Caucasasia.

Right up to the middle of November the issue was in doubt and the fate of the Allies' Middle Eastern bastion in the balance.

And then, as arranged between Churchill and Stalin, the Allies struck simultaneously. The Eighth Army and the R.A.F. smashed through the powerful German defences at Alamein and destroyed Rommel's Army and air force as an effective fighting instrument. A great Red Army, coming down secretly and swiftly from the north of Stalingrad fell upon the city's besiegers with devastating effect.

Since then the Allied Armies have swept forward irresistibly. Tonight Rommel flees headlong into Tunisia and List's Caucasian armies are in full flight to the West.

Hitler declared in November, after weeks of futile and vain slaughter in front of Stalingrad, that he did not want to turn the city into another Verdun. It already was another triumphant Verdun when Hitler said that. Today Stalingrad is more than a Verdun, it is a Cannae, the scene of a great battle of encirclement completed on the classic pattern such as the German Army has never succeeded in achieving.

The defeat of the German Army in Africa and its expulsion from Tripolitania has not been so costly in blood and metal to Germany and her vassals as the catastrophes in Russia, but it has been no less a blow to Hitler's strategy and it is a blow more cruelly felt by Italians than any that has hitherto fallen upon them.

The defeat of Rommel, Hitler's best general, and the Afrika Korps, his élite army, has transformed the entire situation in the Mediterranean and therefore the whole strategy of the war. Without it many weary months must have been added to the duration of the conflict. The feat of the Eighth Army in its tremendous advance from the Nile to Tripoli is one of which we in Britain, our children and our children's children will always be very proud. We know that our allies in Russia will rejoice with them in their brilliant victories.

In London and in Moscow we and our allies know well enough that much remains to be done and much to be endured but we know, too,

that this day in the first month of 1943 when the British stand at the gates of Tripoli, the Russians have taken Salsk and the German High Command first revealed something of the truth, because it had lost all hope of restoring the situation sufficiently to hide it, will be given a prominent place when the history of this war is written.

Hitler makes the choice clear

JANUARY 24, 1943

Hitler, through his French Fascist agents, has notified Europe that he now sees before him the stark spectre of defeat and that, rather than capitulate and spare his own people and their neighbours the horror and hardships of a useless prolongation of the war, he will drag the whole continent down with him to destruction.

This is what Radio Paris broadcast this afternoon :

'A few days ago German statesmen declared that the Reich had definitely burnt all its bridges behind it and that the German nation had but the choice between victory or death. This declaration, made by responsible leaders of the Third Reich, means that the German armies which are more hardened to war than those of any other nation will never capitulate. This means that they will fight the Bolshevik forces in the Russian Steppes as well as in the forests and marshes of Poland, in the plains of Germany, in the fields of France, and, if necessary, in the olive groves of Spain.'

That is the prospect for the German people and for Europe held out by the German-controlled Paris radio, speaking on behalf of Hitler.

This mad nihilist, this apostle of destruction, pretends to offer the German people the choice between victory and death : he pretends to offer Europe the choice between acceptance of defeat and death.

In reality there is no such choice: there is no hope for Germany of victory and the only alternative to death is offered by the Allies – abandonment of Hitler, surrender and peace. That was the offer made by Moscow to the commander of the 6th Army at Stalingrad, General Paulus, and concealed by him from his troops. Thousands have died who never heard of the offer; a few who learnt of it have made their choice and surrendered, the only alternative to death left to Germans.

For non-German Europe, the choice is between the death and destruction, which must come from helping Hitler to prolong the war, and life and reconstruction, which will come from helping to overthrow him as quickly as possible.

That is the choice for Germany and Europe – death with Hitler or life through his overthrow. Germany and Europe can, if they will,

prevent Hitler from fighting in the plains of Germany, the fields of France, the valleys of Italy and the olive groves of Spain. He can't fight all the peoples of Europe as well as Britain, Russia and America.

Hitler has, after all, made the choice crystal clear.

The choice in practice: Italians at Tripoli, Germans at Stalingrad

FEBRUARY 1, 1943

The ordinary man, looking at the events of the past few days, is struck forcibly by these outstanding facts:

First, at Stalingrad, where the German Sixth Army was ordered by Hitler to die to the last man rather than surrender even on honourable terms, it was the ordinary ignorant soldiers who obeyed the order and died, to the tune of about 250,000, because they were ignorant and simple, and it was the Field-Marshal and generals, to the tune of about 20, who eventually surrendered with whole skins because they were not so ignorant and simple.

Secondly, at Tripoli the ordinary Italian people who weren't forced to die to save Hitler's face, are now living quite happily and comfortably under British occupation while the Fascists have been thrown out of power and office and have been interned.

At Stalingrad the ordinary soldiers obeyed the order to fight on rather than capitulate. They died and their commanders lived.

At Tripoli the ordinary people surrendered unconditionally and the only penalty they had to pay was to see the leaders who had misled them thrown from power.

There, in miniature, we have the choice which is today before the people of Germany and all the peoples tied by their leaders to Hitler's increasingly ramshackle chariot wheels.

Military and social responsibilities

FEBRUARY 17, 1943

The tide of war which turned last November is flowing strongly . . .

The great work of liberation is in progress. Russian cities, towns and villages which have been for many months under German enslavement are being set free.

You may say that the Russians are doing this alone and unaided. If so, I would remind you that Britain, standing alone through most of 1940, made everything possible and that since then Britain, at sea and in the air, in her factories and farms – not to mention the military campaign which has liberated Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya and Tripolitania and is about to free Tunisia too – has made already a contribution quite in proportion to the size and resources of a comparatively small nation.

We intend to do more – much more – and it is because we know that we are on the eve of great things, that we are going into battle at any moment on a far greater scale than ever before, it is because of this that we in Britain are paying so much attention to the debate in our Parliament about social security. We all want to know before we enter into a bloody death-grapple with this Nazi-Fascist enemy, that the sacrifice will be worth while, that the other enemies of humanity, of whom the chief is want and insecurity, will also be vanquished.

We, too, in Britain, while we wait for the maturing of the plans for this military liberation of Europe, are doing what we can for the social and economic liberation of our own people, believing that, if we wish to establish social justice throughout Europe, we had better begin at home.

A debate in the British House of Commons on Social Insurance may seem to the featherbrained of no consequence compared with the wonderful Red Army offensive but in ultimate values and in permanent effect upon the life of the ordinary man it may in the future be adjudged even more momentous.

Let it be said that we in Britain are ready to take our military responsibilities seriously and are prepared to bleed for what we think is worth while, but let it also be said that we take our social responsibilities seriously and are anxious to make sure that our sacrifices will not be in vain.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, now liberating their own lands, are inspired to make the necessary sacrifices by faith in their own new social and economic methods. We British, before we pour out our blood to liberate the lands of our fathers, wish also to be inspired by faith in our social and economic plans.

That's what it's all about.

Hitler's total mobilisation

FEBRUARY 27, 1943

The news from the war fronts and from inside Europe in the past 24 hours makes it plain to the simplest observers that we have entered the decisive phase of the war, the phase, that is to say, which will decide

whether Hitler and his associates will be overthrown within a few months or whether they will be able to prolong the struggle and Europe's agony into next year or even longer.

News from Russia and Tunisia shows clearly the remorseless and deadly manner in which the United Nations' coalition is pressing in on the German prison-fortress of Europe, preparing for the not-distant day when great blows will be struck from West and South as well as in the East.

And from inside Europe has come the news of the attempted total mobilisation of the Czechs and Greeks, to follow that of the Dutch and Norwegians, the mass conscription of Poles and the big call-up in France. In short, a great race has begun, with the Nazis feverishly trying to mobilise the peoples of Europe in defence of Hitler's tyranny in time to meet the approaching offensive of the forces of liberation.

The Nazis are in a great hurry. They have set March 15 as the date for the completion of Europe's mobilisation. March 15 – A fatal day! The day of the great crime against the Czechs whom they now call to their aid, the day of the march into Prague, an act of wanton aggression and treachery which made this war finally inevitable. The Ides of March!

Europe will not, cannot be, totally mobilised in Germany's defence by March 15, or any other date. As the Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* has said: 'the peoples of Europe will not submit to such orders.' They will not fight or work against their own families, homes and countries. Already the elaborate campaign to terrify them into collaboration by the myth of the Bolshevik Terror has proved a dismal failure and now the Nazis and their agents are resorting to naked compulsion, to the very real Gestapo terror.

But the Nazi terror, which, in the days of its strength in the past three years has merely succeeded in creating implacable hatred and will to resist, cannot, now that it is growing weaker, break down the resistance of the peoples, who hate no less but fear less.

The conquered countries re-enter the war in a decisive role at a decisive moment. Hitler desperately needs their labour. That alone can postpone his downfall. But they will not give it. No man can be compelled to work if he adamantly refuses to do so.

The once-conquered but unconquerable peoples of Europe are being put virtually in the front line to defend Hitlerite Germany. Hitler has declared that foreign lives will not be spared. The foreigners' reply is that, if their lives are to be given in any case, they will be given in their own cause and that of their friends and allies and not in Hitler's.

Front lines run close to each other. No-man's land can be crossed by the courageous. By putting the peoples whom they have wronged so bitterly in Germany's front line, the Nazis are placing them where they can take their positions in the front line of the United Nations.

They know that this is no struggle to defend Europe against extra-European barbarism in the East and extra-European plutocracy in the West but a great European civil war between the Nazis, Fascists and their accomplices on the one hand and, on the other, the European forces of freedom, progress, justice and civilisation represented by Britain, Russia, the real France now re-entering the fight, by the peoples of all the occupied countries, by strong elements in the vassal States and by certain elements even in Germany and Italy.

And Europe recognises, too, that America, whose civilisation sprang from European roots and preserves all that it best in the European tradition, is also fighting for the liberation of Europe from the foul Nazi tyranny whose only parallel is to be found in the blackest pages of Asiatic history.

The day of that liberation will be speeded by the success with which the peoples of Europe sabotage the Nazis' attempt to mobilise them now and the success with which the armed forces of the free nations prepare their great assault. The free peoples and the peoples longing for freedom are now, as never before, united in a great common fighting enterprise.

It cannot fail if all of us do our duty. We shall do it.

Ribbentrop in Rome

MARCH 1, 1943

So the underbelly is indeed very soft. That is the conclusion which one must draw from Ribbentrop's prolonged conversations with Mussolini in Rome, his ostentatious flattering of the King and Crown Prince of Italy and his private visit to Ciano to find out what exactly this latest addition to the Vatican's diplomatic corps is up to.

The underbelly is soft and so something has had to be done to strengthen the flabby stomach muscles against the punch that is coming to them.

In other words, the Fascists are not concerned with the Nazis' brilliant notion of a crusade against Bolshevism - except in so far as they regret greatly the loss in Russia of an entire army which they would very much like to have at their disposal now to meet a much more imminent threat. A threat, be it said, which the Italian people are coming more and more to regard as a promise, namely the threat, or promise, that the British and Americans will shortly detach Italy forcibly or gently as the case may be, from the so-called Axis which has brought some Fascists wealth and importance but has brought the common people of Italy nothing but privation, bloody sacrifices and disgrace.

In short, the Fascists are not even paying lip-service to the Nazi notion that this war is designed to save European civilisation from the Bolshevik danger in the East

And so Herr Rudolf Kircher, chief editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who went with Ribbentrop to Rome, has sent an article to his paper explaining to the German people that they must realise that the Italian Fascists cannot be expected to take the Bolshevik danger in the East seriously and that Germany will, after all, have to recognise – if she wants to keep Italy in the war – that a real danger to the continuation of Nazi-Fascist exploitation of Europe exists in the threatened blow of the Anglo-Saxon democracies in the South, against the soft underbelly.

This is what Kircher – hitherto engaged in spreading the gospel of a crusade against the Soviet – has to say in his latest article. 'Italy stands and falls with the European south front. Even the greatest victory over the Bolsheviks could not compensate for Italy's position on the south front if it were lost.'

That was what Rudolf Kircher had to say to the Germans to explain to them why the Italian Fascists regard the Bolshevik Bogey as nonsense and are compelling Germany, as the price of any continued attempt to defend the South Wall of Hitler's so-called Fortress, to send such assistance in men, weapons and food supplies as the Reich can, in its hour of need in the East and West, still manage to supply.

The attempted total mobilisation of the European peoples is thus not designed solely to save Germany from defeat on the Eastern Front but to permit the Nazis to assist in saving the Italian Fascists from defeat on the Southern underbelly front and to enable these Fascists to prevent the Italian people from opening the door in the south to the Anglo-American forces of liberation.

Parliamentary elections in Denmark

MARCH 24, 1943

We in Britain must take our hats off to the Danes. Just at the moment when the Germans were really getting under weigh with their campaign to represent themselves as the true friends of the small States in Europe, one of the smallest States, Denmark, has stated in no uncertain voice that it has no use for collaboration with Germany, feels no interest in the projected Statute of Europe and wishes to be governed by men who genuinely want Denmark to be free, independent and democratic.

Denmark's vote is a clear indication that the Danes stand in heart and spirit with the free peoples and the enslaved peoples struggling to be free, that they look to a future such as was outlined by Churchill on Sunday night, in which truly self-governing nations will work together

to establish a system of security which will prevent any people again from having to suffer the humiliation which the Danes have had to support for the last three years.

The Danes have, in fact, given the Germans a slap in the face and helped to ensure that Berlin's embryonic Statute of Europe will be a still-born monstrosity.

Nearly 90 per cent. of the electorate went to the polls to demonstrate their faith in democracy, and, under the eyes of German troops and police and in the face of every kind of Nazi device at arranging the election results in favour of the pro-Germans, these stout-hearted Danish citizens recorded a decisive vote for the men who have always stood up against the invaders.

The new Parliament will contain only five Nazi or near-Nazi members, the pro-German Premier Scavenius' Radical Party has lost ground, the anti-German and anti-collaborationist Danish Union Party polled five times as many votes as in 1939 and the Conservative Party, whose leader Christmas Moeller is head of the free Danish movement in Britain, got the biggest increase in seats of all.

The Germans must now regret that they allowed themselves to be goaded into permitting the elections by the British radio, which said they wouldn't dare to. They certainly took every possible precaution to secure the right results and no doubt hoped to be able to use the election to show Denmark as a small nation voting for the good kind Germans and their precious Statute of Europe.

They have been disappointed. They have been shown that where people in Europe are allowed to vote, they vote against Germany. Now let the Germans hold elections all over the Continent and see what happens!

Britain's military contribution

MARCH 28, 1943

Far away in Tunisia, many hundreds of miles from where I am speaking and from where most of my audience are listening, a great and bloody battle is being fought. It is as great a battle as any in the history of war in point of numbers of men engaged and perhaps greater than any single battle ever fought in the intensity of the fire-power from automatic small-arms, quick-firing artillery of all calibres, heavily gunned tanks, and aircraft armed with cannon, machine-guns and bombs.

This battle, now in its eighth ferocious day, is being fought over a battlefield of 48,000 square miles, as big as England, that is to say, the British Isles without Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

The armies of five nations, Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Italy are engaged although by far the greatest number of troops of any one nation are the British soldiers of the Eighth and First Armies.

To support the Allied armies from the air and sea, to get them to the battlefield and to supply them there tens of thousands of airmen, ground air personnel, army transport staff, sailors of the Allied Navies and mercantile marines, and hundreds of ships are in service. To make the weapons and the ships to carry them, and the munitions to supply them, hundreds of thousands of men and women toil in the factories. Great though the assistance of our American and French Allies is, the aircraft and airmen, the transport men, the sailors, the ships, the munitions, the weapons, the workers and the factories are, like the soldiers, preponderantly British in this case.

I point this out simply because, as a Briton, I am proud that in this battle, one of the most decisive of the war, one in which victory for the United Nations will transform the entire military situation, this nation of Britain should be able to make so great a contribution.

Since the dark days of the summer of 1940, when we stood alone in desperate defence of civilisation, we British have felt that many people were inclined to adopt the attitude that Britain had had her brief hour of glory, had served her purpose and, exhausted by her efforts in the first half of the war, would play only a minor role in its later phases.

Those who imagined that are going to find themselves very much mistaken. Certainly the effort required to keep the sea communications of our far-flung Commonwealth open, to provide troops and aircraft for major war theatres in Europe, Africa and Asia, to keep up our supplies for Russia and to maintain the supply of raw materials for our factories and food for our people, has taxed our strength to the full but it has not overtaxed it. Today Britain, fully mobilised and adequately fed at home, with a Navy and Mercantile Marine growing in spite of the U-boats, with a rapidly expanding air force, with a greater army than she has ever possessed, and a constantly expanding output of munitions of war, is stronger than she has ever been in her history. She faces the new phase of the war which is now opening, and in which her armed forces will provide the spearhead of the spring and summer offensives, with confidence and eagerness.

The Germans, who have so often mocked and derided us since the Kaiser first referred to our 'contemptible little army,' are going to feel the full force of British blows as Rommel's men are feeling them now in Tunisia and as the Berliners felt them last night.

Do you remember what the Germans – and not only the Germans – said about us at the time of Dunkirk?

Do you remember how, two and a half years ago, in September, 1940, Radio Bremen said this: 'From his headquarters in Northern

France Goering conducts the operations of the German Air Force against Britain. Reichsmarshal Goering flew over London in one of the new German Junkers 88 bombers. Impressed by the extraordinarily great effects of the German raids on London, Goering said on his return: 'I am glad to have made my Luftwaffe such a formidable weapon. In Poland, Norway and the West, the Luftwaffe was the decisive factor, and it will also be Germany's sharpest sword in the Battle of Britain. It will crush the British resistance just as it has crushed the resistance of the other countries'."

Do you remember how, a few days later, in September, 1940, Deutschlandsender broadcast an eye-witness description of an attack on London which said: 'London can be said to offer a sight of terrifying beauty as the German bombers approached their objectives. So terrible was the scene that we felt how good it was to be up in the plane instead of down there.'

And do you remember how, two years ago today, on March 28th, 1941, Breslau station said: 'Britain has lost the war in the air already and lost it beyond recovery.'

Well we haven't forgotten. We are not bent on revenge but we are steeled by our memories in the grim task on which we have now embarked of carrying the war to the Germans with all the vast force with which we have so painfully armed ourselves.

It is because we remember that, without underestimating the magnitude of the struggle ahead and without wishing to boast of our own part in it, we nevertheless exult in the knowledge that Britain today is strong enough to wipe out the insults and sneers which we have had for too long to leave unredressed.

It was the Germans who destroyed Lübeck

MARCH 29, 1943

A year ago today the Royal Air Force delivered a very heavy and concentrated attack on Lübeck. Lübeck is an ancient Hanseatic city with a great past associated for centuries with peaceful and prosperous trade between the nations but latterly, since the Nazis came to power, diverted, like everything else decent, harmless and civilised in Germany, to the purposes of war, cruelty and oppression.

The Nazis had hoped to camouflage their machinery of the new barbarism beneath the mellow architecture of an old civilisation, a civilisation which, though old, is enduring in every land except the Germany which once contributed so notably to it.

So Lübeck was bombed, in the first of the really heavy R.A.F. raids.

We were sorry to destroy stone and brick monuments of the past . . .

It is not our desire to destroy beautiful buildings in Germany because the Germans destroyed beautiful buildings in Britain, to kill German civilians because the Germans killed British women and children. That is not our idea of making war, which we make to put an end to vandalism and sadism and not to add to them.

Lübeck suffered because the Nazis have exposed everything, that is beautiful in Germany, as in other countries, to the ravages of war. It is they who destroyed its ancient monuments.

An instrument of war, not of justice

APRIL 5, 1943

With the finer nights and days of spring, the Allied bombing offensive is gathering weight in both the West and the South, against Germany and the German bases and arms centres in occupied countries and against Italy.

That offensive, already fiercer than any bombardment the world has ever witnessed, is only in its opening stages

It is a terrible prospect, and no less terrible for the fact that the German and Italian peoples have brought this fate upon themselves. No decent or sane person, no one who has not sunk to the level of brutality and sadism reached by the Nazis and Fascists thugs themselves, can feel any pleasure in the frightful rain of death and destruction which is falling and is about to fall upon the Germans and Italians.

To regard this as punishment of guilty peoples is to mistake entirely the purpose of the Royal Air Force, which is an instrument of war and not a sword of justice. We are not gods to mete out punishment from the skies; we are a nation of human beings at war, resolved grimly and relentlessly to use every weapon we have to break as speedily as possible the ghastly German war machine.

When we bomb Essen and Kiel and Berlin, Naples, Cagliari and Syracuse, we are waging war and not wreaking revenge or meting out punishment.

We are bombing to end bombing and to destroy the war machine which first made use of it as a main weapon. We make no pretence that in our raids the armament workers of Essen, the transport workers of Cologne or the dockyard workers of Kiel are spared. Of course they die, as our soldiers and workers die as a result of the manufacture of the weapons made and transported by the workers in the German and Italian arms and transport centres and shipyards

If they continue to live and work unharmed they will go on making the guns, tanks, aircraft and U-boats which bring death to our own soldiers and sailors and civilians, and which rivet Hitler's tyranny on the starving women and children of our allies in Europe.

These Germans and Italians who die in air raids are not defenceless civilians. They are artisans of death protected by every device which their war lords can contrive.

So long as the German and Italian peoples continue to work for the Nazi-Fascist war machine, those of them who live in arms and railway centres and in the docks and naval bases can expect only to suffer the ordeal which they themselves once so gladly prepared, and still obediently prepare, for others.

Poison gas

APRIL 22, 1943

The Nazis and Fascists, and their accomplices and dupes, are making ready to use gas in a last desperate effort to save themselves. This gas, poisonous gas, which they are preparing to let loose, is of two kinds: physical and mental.

They are, according to reports taken seriously in London and Washington, getting ready to use poisonous gas in the field against the Red Army, which they know they can't beat in any other way.

That is the physical form of poison gas, and there is another and even more dangerous kind – the frightful miasma which they try to create in peoples' minds.

Britain and the United States have both declared what will be the response to any use by the Axis of poison gas in the physical sphere. But it is necessary also to answer the poison gas war which the Axis is already conducting in the mental sphere.

Clouds of poison are being emitted by their propaganda cylinders: the Russians are accused of murdering Poles; the British are alleged to have maltreated Italians and so on.

Well, it is not irrelevant that the Germans are still shackling our prisoners of war although we released theirs from fetters many months ago; it is not irrelevant that Turkish correspondents report that, while British prisoners of war released from Italy show themselves delighted to go home, Italian prisoners freed from Britain are dejected as they return to their mother land; it is not irrelevant that the Japanese, whom the Nazis and Fascists hail always as their honoured allies, have murdered American airmen prisoners of war whereas the United States War Secretary, Patterson, has stated: 'There will be no retaliation

against Japanese prisoners of war, for the execution by the Japanese of U.S. airmen, because reprisals would lower us to the level of our enemy.'

None of this is irrelevant. Indeed all this is most relevant, because it should serve to clear the air of the clouds of poison emitted by the Nazi propaganda machine.

When the air is really cleared one thing will be visible, namely, that the Nazis and Fascists, with their Japanese co-defenders of western civilisation, are both desperate and barbarous.

German outcry against Britain and America

APRIL 25, 1943

The German Press and Radio, which, for obvious reasons, have practically nothing at present to say about the fighting fronts, are trying hard to divert attention from the impending disaster in Tunisia, by an unbridled atrocity campaign against the United Nations.

For many days now they have been flooding the world with stories about the alleged mass-grave of Smolensk, supposed to contain the bodies of Poles executed by the Russians. Two or three days ago they conveniently discovered another mass-grave, this time at Odessa, and supposed to contain the corpses of Rumanians.

But, while the campaign against the Soviet still continues, a new outcry has now been raised against the British and Americans.

To the Bolshevik bogey the Nazis have added an Anglo-Saxon ogre in a desperate attempt to whip up hatred and fear among their own people and to distract the attention of the world from their military calamities and their crimes.

While it is worth putting on record that the German Press and Radio, including the mouthpiece of the Berlin Foreign Office, have expressed full approval for the murder in cold blood by the Japanese of American airmen prisoners of war, it is certainly not worth while wasting time in commenting on the brazen effrontery, the depravity and sickening hypocrisy of those murderers of hostages, exterminators of helpless Jews and butchers of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade and Coventry.

There are no words capable of describing so utterly inhuman and fantastic a perversion of the truth. When cynicism passes certain bounds it reaches a realm of craziness which baffles the power of expression in words.

Why cite again the Nazis' grisly record? It is well enough known to the world.

But it is highly interesting and profitable to examine the mentality

and motive behind this tremendous scream of rage and hatred against the Allies.

I myself have no doubt that behind it all is desperation and stark fear, realisation that Germany can no longer withstand us in the field of battle and a final, frantic hope that by the witchcraft of words some spell can be cast over the world which will at the last moment avert the doom that approaches.

It is plain to me that something is snapping in the Nazi mind, that their nerve is giving way. In such a condition these men, capable at all times of the most bestial deeds, will be ready to descend to any depths. They will, we know, go out with a bang and not with a whimper. But if anyone imagines that our nerve will break and that we shall be so appalled by the savageries and horrors of their war that we shall falter in our resolve, he can dismiss that illusion at once. The conditions for a negotiated peace can no more be created by Nazi savagery than by Nazi suavity.

Mad brutes, mouthing a ghastly travesty of human speech, have Europe in their grip. They must be stamped into the dust and the mind and soul of man cleansed of their memory.

Dunkirk to Tunisia

MAY 7, 1943

Just about three years ago disaster befell the Allies in the West.

Today only three years later, the tables have been turned – again on French territory. Today it is the British, the French – and the Americans, who were to have been too late, according to the plan – who have the superiority in planes, guns, tanks and men. It is a Britain, supposed to have been beaten to her knees, a France, said to have been struck down never to rise again, and an America, believed to be too timid, lethargic and unprepared ever to intervene, who are carrying out a blitzkrieg which puts Hitler's version of it right in the shade.

So far, the pattern is the same only in reverse and with this difference – that we are bombing and shelling the fighting men and not driving in front of us crowds of helpless civilian refugees. But the pattern will not remain the same for long.

Three years ago, the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force, aided by the tenacious and heroic rearguard fighting of the British and French Northern armies in the Battle of Dunkirk, were able to save from annihilation a British Army of 300,000 men and a French Army of 90,000 men although the Germans had boisterously declared that not a man would escape and that the steel ring was closed.

We shall see, in days not far off, how the German and Italian armies of Africa will fare with their backs to the sea, bereft of their air cover and without naval mastery. The great Axis army of the South Front is about to be destroyed. There will be no miracle of Tunisia to match the miraculous feat of Dunkirk.

And here's another difference! After the battle of annihilation in the West in 1940, Hitler turned aside from the assault on the British fortress which barred his way to final and complete victory. He dare not take the risk of bloody invasion with a powerful potential enemy in his rear in the East – the Soviet Union.

Today the Allies have no fear for their rear. They have no potential enemy behind them. The Germans with the greater part of their army still tied down in the East by the enemy whose menace turned them away from the invasion of Britain three years ago, can expect only that the battle of annihilation now being fought out in Africa will, in due course, inevitably be resumed and brought to its final consummation on the continent of Europe.

After Tunisia: Italy faces her fate

MAY 8, 1943

And so today Italy stands face to face with her fate. The pretences and fictions with which the Fascists have, since the defeat at El Alamein, fed the illusions of the Italian people are stripped away, and now facts must be faced.

These briefly are those facts: . . .

Within a few days the whole of that great allied air force which has blasted the Luftwaffe out of the African skies, has smashed the way for the tanks and infantry through the powerful Axis defences, has rendered Axis airfields and ports in North Africa unusable and made the Straits of Sicily a graveyard for ships – the whole of this huge concentration of air power will be ready for the next task, the destruction of the German war machine in Italy.

The whole of the powerful Allied fleet which has played so notable a part in cutting off the supplies of the Axis garrison of Tunisia and in rendering an evacuation of the defeated army impossible and which has secured for the Allied armies an unending stream of men and material – the whole of this fleet will be ready for the next phase.

The whole of the victorious British, American and French army group which has in a six months' campaign routed and destroyed the cream of the German and Italian armies and has cleansed a continent, the whole of this army group will be ready for the next phase.

The German Army and Air Force, stretched to their limits by their commitments on the East and West fronts, can give Italy no additional aid. The German surface fleet is bottled up in Norwegian waters and the U-boats find the Mediterranean too difficult.

So Italy, stripped in Germany's service, of a great army lost in Africa and another lost in Russia, must provide for her own defence and that of the Balkans. Why? Why must she defend Germany's southern front? So that Mussolini shall allow Hitler to make a battlefield of Italy, to sacrifice yet more tens of thousands of Italian soldiers, yet more Italian ships and factories and cities, in order that he may postpone his inevitable defeat a little longer and have the satisfaction of seeing Italy devastated and ruined before Germany's turn comes.

The Italian people and their armed forces have done enough to vindicate their courage and their honour – albeit in an evil cause. The course of courage and honour is now clear: it lies in the same direction as the course of common sense and realism, in recognition that they have lost the war of conquest into which Mussolini plunged them eight years ago, that there is nothing left to gain for Italy and everything to lose by continuing the struggle, that the future of their country and their children demand now, at this fateful moment, a supreme act of courage which will save Italy from humiliation and disaster by forcing the capitulation of the Fascists so that Italy may secure an honourable peace.

The Italian people must make their decision and they must make it soon.

Hess and Franco want peace

MAY 10, 1943

Two years ago today Rudolf Hess, regarded as the most respectable of the Nazis, landed in Britain. He came to offer us peace because, after having discovered in the Battle of Britain that this country was too tough a nut to crack, quickly or without great cost, Hitler was about to attack Russia. The idea was that Britain should come to terms with Germany and assist or passively watch Hitler while he got the Soviet out of the way as a preliminary to turning round again and dealing with Britain with the eastern front secure.

Well, Hess got his answer at once, but wasn't able to take it back to Berlin. Hitler had to wait until June 22 to hear from Churchill that Britain would join her arms with those of Russia in full comradeship until final victory.

With that famous broadcast by Churchill it was settled that in due course Germany would have to do what she has always dreaded and

recognised as meaning the certainty of defeat – she would have to fight on two fronts.

Even then, two years ago, Churchill was pushing forward his plans and preparations for the great African campaign whose termination now makes the Second Front a hideous and imminent certainty.

Throughout those two years, the Nazis and their friends have been employing every subterfuge and device to avert the two-front war by splitting the Allies. Less spectacular and more circumspect Hesses have been active all the time. And they have all received the same answer – the answer contained in the Casablanca Declaration and Stalin's May Day Order of the Day – unconditional surrender.

As recently as April 16th the Foreign Minister of Spain was told by Eden and Cordell Hull, in answer to an offer of mediation between Germany and the Western Powers, that total victory was our only aim. And yet General Franco has now seen fit to repeat the offer, invoking the name of the Vatican and urging the need of baulking Russian barbarism of its prey. Franco observed that those who serenely watch the struggle consider it senseless to delay peace.

To those who have been watching the struggle serenely in the belief that the forces of liberty and democracy would be defeated it may indeed seem senseless to continue it now that it is so clear that those forces are going to win after all, but for us all the blood, toil, tears and sweat which have gone into averting defeat in our darkest hours and to securing the conditions of victory, would seem senseless if we did not prosecute this struggle to its bitter end, to the complete and permanent overthrow of all the forces of oppression and cruelty.

One does not need to be very clever to see in whose interests offers of mediation are made on the morrow of our greatest victory and the eve of our invasion of Europe. One does not need to be an expert in foreign affairs to see some connection between the appointment of so-called respectable Germans to the Vatican and Madrid embassies, the visit to the Holy See of German Bishops who have secured a reputation for being anti-Nazi and these peace offers made from Madrid and invoking the support of the Vatican.

One need not be very farsighted to perceive that what Franco calls 'a form of equilibrium' might involve the appearance of régimes in Germany and Italy superficially different from the Nazis and Fascists, paying greater lip-service to the ideals of civilisation and bearing a greater resemblance to those more old-fashioned forms of tyranny and reaction which fill their prisons in the name of Christ.

Nor does it require a great exercise of common sense and moral integrity to realise that, however much blood might temporarily be saved by negotiating with such people, we should thereby have lost the war, have shed our blood in vain, and have delivered the world to a fresh purgatory of police persecution and tyranny over the mind and spirit

of man which could end only in a greater and bloodier war in due course.

No, this war is going to be fought to a finish, to the only possible finish – the utter destruction of every form of oppression and the establishment of a society in which Christ's teachings are not blasphemously perverted to justify imprisonment, torture and starvation.

Let those who fear and hate the idea of such a free society, keep their peace and learn to accept it and if possible like it. There can be no other ending.

What kind of a people do they think we are? We have not travelled all this way through the centuries across the continents and oceans to falter in the moment of victory.

The choice is there for all to understand. The ultimatum has been uttered in words. Now let the guns speak it.

German debacle in Africa

MAY 12, 1943

Once again, for the first time since 1918, a German Army has collapsed and surrendered after defeat in the field by British, French and American troops.

It is true that the rout and capitulation of the German Army in Africa is on a small scale compared with the colossal débacle of 1918, but so are the Allied Armies engaged, compared with the millions who fought in Europe then and the millions who will fight there again and will achieve the final victory of which Tunisia is a prophetic miniature.

But the pattern is the same. Today, as in 1918, a German Army has capitulated because, faced with an overwhelming offensive, it had no reserves upon which to call, no means of further retreat because its communications to the rear had failed, and nothing left to fight for once the hopes of a victorious war of conquest had finally withered.

Now, as then, the tenacity of the British, the powers of recovery of the French and the capacity of swift and powerful intervention by the Americans, have disrupted German plans, shattered German illusions and exposed German propaganda.

Now, as then, the failure to appreciate the decisive influence of the Royal Navy and gross overestimation of the effectiveness of the U-boats, have combined with underestimation of the military qualities of their opponents and arrogant faith in their own invincibility, to render defeat in the field a far more shattering experience for the Germans than it has ever been to peoples who have never made a myth and legend of their own immunity from military disaster.

Where today can the Germans look for excuses for their defeat? If

they attribute it to our superiority in numbers and equipment they merely emphasise the failure of the Wehrmacht as a whole and of the entire strategy behind the campaigns of the past 3½ years. For it was to reduce Britain's actual and potential naval, military and air power to impotence that Germany occupied northern, western and southern Europe and marched to the east through Russia and Africa.

Nor can the Germans today, as in 1918, blame the Home Front or preserve the legend of military invincibility by the invention of a stab in the back.

They might like to blame the Italians but the world has learnt that the Italian Army has fought very valiantly indeed in North Africa and that Italian sailors have shown great, though misguided, heroism in getting supplies across from Italy to Tunisia.

Besides, the Germans can neither afford to tell the world that they rely on their allies to save them from defeat nor can they afford – since they in fact do rely on their allies, and particularly on Italy – to insult the Italians.

No, there is no way this time of concealing the plain fact that Hitler, Hitler's generals and Hitler's admirals, have been out-manceuvred, strategically and tactically, by the Allied military idiots and the German Army has been outfought by the soldiers of Britain, and by the French soldiers, whom they had humiliated by every means in their power and had never expected to have to fight again.

We don't on our side feel like taunting the defeated or deriding their capitulation. We know the bitterness of defeat and even of surrender. We know that there is no dishonour in defeat and no shame in capitulation when the only alternative is useless massacre.

We know this because we do not regard fighting and dying as an end in itself, as a cult, but as a means to an end – life, liberty and happiness.

We never have believed that war pays or is a good thing and so when it brings us defeat, death and disaster we suffer no disillusion or despair. We simply set out teeth or resolve all the harder to make an end of war.

If the Germans now realise that their defeat in battle is also the defeat of the entire cult of war, of a State machine designed solely for war at the hands of peoples whose way of life is designed for peace, then they must recognise that it is peace that is triumphing over war, that peace is stronger than war even in armed conflict.

Respecting strength, the Germans should at last accept the fact once and for all that those who love peace are stronger than those who love war.

Churchill's speech to Congress

MAY 20, 1943

The cheers with which the United States Congress greeted Churchill's speech yesterday and the enthusiastic reception given to it in today's American newspapers must have produced the deepest gloom in Berlin, Rome and Tokio, where there still lingered the forlorn hope that it would be possible to drive a wedge between Britain and the United States in spite of the recent failure to create a split between Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Nazis and Fascists, who once really believed in the possibility of a Tripartite global strategy in which they would join hands with the Japanese over the ruins of the British Empire, have more recently – since that dream faded – been nourishing a hope that Japan could at least be used to confuse the United Nations' strategic plans and to create divisions between them.

The Nazis and Fascists, having failed to prevent or postpone the imminent Anglo-American assault on Europe either by their Tunisian gamble or by their efforts to poison the relations between the Western Powers and Russia, have latterly been moving heaven and earth to bring about at least a delaying action in the Pacific or at best a split between America and Britain over the Far Eastern theatre of war.

They hoped devoutly that the main Anglo-American war effort could be diverted to the Pacific, thus postponing the attack on Europe long enough for Germany to carry out another unimpeded offensive in Russia and at the same time creating the impression in Moscow that Russia had been deserted by her allies. Failing that, the Nazis and Fascists hoped that, through Britain insisting on the prior demands of the European front and thus appearing to place her obligations towards the Soviet before her friendship with the United States, it would be possible to produce divided counsels between Washington and London and therefore hesitant and ineffective action in 1943 followed in 1944 by the triumph of anti-British and isolationist influences in the American elections.

Well, those were the fond hopes nurtured in Berlin and Rome and Churchill's speech has demolished them. The British Prime Minister, coming straight from his talks with President Roosevelt and American military chiefs, not only reaffirmed categorically that the main objective of the United Nations is to end the war in Europe as swiftly as possible but, by his masterly presentation of the strategic perspective of this conflict, he carried the Americans with him entirely

Churchill's realism and plain speaking have at the same time further cemented Britain's friendship with both the United States and the

Soviet, given the enslaved peoples of Europe the answer which they so passionately awaited and reassured our Australian kinsmen and Chinese allies that, the sooner the European tyranny has been overthrown, the sooner will they receive the full aid of Britain's victorious forces.

We are glad Fascist Italy came into the war

JUNE 9, 1943

Three years ago tonight Fascist Italy was trembling on the brink of war. France was on her knees; the entry of Fascist Italy into the war against us was supposed to provide the last straw which would break our backs.

On the contrary, all of us who knew what this war was about, were delighted. Mussolini's Italy became an enemy instead of being a diplomatic and moral embarrassment.

Most of us wished that all the rest of the Fascists had at the same time shown their colours so clearly.

We should have hated to have had a neutral Fascist Italy on our hands because it would have made it so difficult to live up to the ideal of freedom for which we fight while also remaining faithful to our pledge not to interfere with the internal affairs of neutral nations.

Well, Mussolini spared us that embarrassment so we can hail June 10 as a great day in our history because, through misjudgment, Mussolini reminded us that we were not fighting just Germany but international Fascism.

Wouldn't it have been awful if we had ended this war under some apparent obligation to Mussolini for having kept out of it?

The fall of Pantellaria

JUNE 11, 1943

The first strong-point in the much-vaunted defences of the Festung Europa has fallen before the sea and air power of the United Nations. The first bastion has been knocked away from the impregnable wall against which the Allies were supposed to dash themselves bloodily and in vain.

The resistance of Pantellaria, prolonged uselessly at Mussolini's orders long after the position was obviously hopeless, has cost the defenders and not the attackers dear. Italy has lost many of her sons, in the air

and on the ground, who could otherwise have lived on to see their country liberated.

This futile and costly gesture on Mussolini's part is to be regretted solely on humanitarian and not on military grounds.

Indeed it has provided the world with a valuable demonstration of the fact that the combined sea and air power of the United Nations is so great that the landing of troops at a highly fortified point in the European defence system can be achieved without the heavy losses so confidently forecast by the Nazis and Fascists. It has proved that the combined weight of bombardment from naval guns and aircraft can overpower coastal defences and batteries even before the troops are landed. And it has proved that the boasts of the Nazis and Fascists that the U-boats and E-boats can keep both our warships and our troop transports away, are not to be taken at their face value.

Here was a chance for the Italian Navy and the German U-boats and E-boats and for the German and Italian air-forces to show their strength against the Allied naval and air-forces so conveniently concentrated. Here was a chance for them to show in action the advantages of the defence and, even if they could not save this important hedgehog position, at least inflict damaging losses on the attackers.

They did not do so, presumably, because they knew that their own losses would be so severe as to impair the defence of the next position which the Allies attack. But the same situation will arise then and once more Hitler and Mussolini will either have to order a garrison to sacrifice itself in hopeless resistance after being left to its fate or they will, in attempts to assist the garrison, have to suffer losses which will impair the defence of the Allies' next objective.

Pantellaria, in fact, has demonstrated the dilemma of the Axis, which must either put the issue to the test of full-scale battle or surrender position after position.

They surrendered Egypt, Libya and Tripolitania to conserve their forces for a stand in Tunisia. They lost their positions and men and material as well and inflicted very little damage upon the Allies. In Tunisia they gave battle, poured in men and material, did us some damage but lost both the position and a great army and air-force as well. At Pantellaria they conserved their naval and air forces, lost an important position, with considerable casualties to their own men and without doing the Allies any damage.

What will Hitler and Mussolini do next time? Will they throw in their forces and lose them as well as the positions, as in Tunisia, or will they leave the garrison without adequate air and sea support, as at Pantellaria?

Or will their soldiers, sailors and airmen decide that, since, in both cases, it has ended in surrender to overwhelming force the surrender might as well come before, instead of after, thousands of them have died

in vain.

Pantellaria, coming after Tunisia, should make them sure of one thing: the Allies are not bluffing when they call for capitulation. They have the power to enforce it.

The Italian people can get out of the war

JUNE 12, 1943

President Roosevelt, in his remarks about the Italian people and Mussolini and his gang, has accurately reflected the opinions of the average person in Britain.*

Roosevelt hasn't made any appeal to the Italians or any attempt to woo them or bribe them.

He hasn't made promises in return for action by the Italians against the Germans or Fascists, or threats to them in the event of their not taking such action.

He has simply suggested that they should reflect on some of the truths which no thinking person would question for a moment. Here they are:

Mussolini has pursued and is pursuing a policy which makes it essential that he and his government shall be driven along with the Germans, from Italy. That means, that so long as they remain in power, Italy can neither have peace, nor a respected place among the nations, but only war.

We don't believe that the crimes which have been committed by the Fascist government reflect the true character of the Italian people and, for that reason, Roosevelt, like Churchill, has felt able to declare that, once freed of the Nazis and Fascists, the Italians will assuredly take their proper place again among the civilised nations under a civilised form of government.

Even if the Italian people were far worse than they really are and as brutal and militaristic as the Fascists would like them to be, or would like us to believe them to be, we should not, as Churchill has said, stain our name before posterity by cruel and inhuman acts or rob them of

June 12. President Roosevelt told his press conference that the United Nations could assure the Italian people of an opportunity of choosing the kind of non-Nazi, non-Fascist Government they wanted established after Fascism had been put down and the Germans driven from their territory. He made it clear that he considered Mussolini and his henchmen, rather than the Italian people, responsible for Italy's present position in the war. It was the hope and intention of the United Nations, he said, that Italy would be restored to nationhood and take her place as a respected member of the European family of Nations.

their native soil, since it is to prevent cruelty and robbery that we are ourselves fighting.

But, before that can happen, the power of the Fascists and their German masters over Italy must be destroyed. The United Nations have the power to destroy it and intend to do so as quickly as possible.

The Italian people have it in their power to demonstrate practically their love of peace and to contribute to its speedy restoration by hindering instead of helping Mussolini's capacity to prolong the war.

The King visits the Mediterranean

JUNE 17, 1943

The King of England has reviewed his fleet in the Mediterranean, right under the nose of Mussolini in Mare Nostrum.

He has reviewed the armies of Britain, France and America on French soil – soil which is French again in spite of German infiltration and Italian cries of ' Corsica, Nice and Tunis.'

The King of England has been the guest of his Allies, the French Republic, as he was in December, 1939, before France fell only to rise again and as he was in the summer of 1938, when all of us were sickening for the disease of appeasement and collaboration, from which all of us have now recovered – some quicker than others.

The King of England can go where he likes in Africa, the continent marked down by Hitler and Mussolini as their own, as the Eur-African springboard for their Eur-Asian adventure. That continent of Africa is so safe now from Nazi or Fascist designs that it can become the parade ground for the King of England, symbol of everything the Nazis and Fascists hate, symbol of centuries of free government and developing democracy, symbol, above all of the unbreakable alliance between Britain, who had her great revolution against arbitrary government in the 17th century, France and America who had their great revolutions against arbitrary government in the 18th century and Russia who had hers in our own century, against the Germans and Italians who have still to shake themselves free of tyranny.

British democracy under constitutional monarchy has often been derided, but can Hitler or Mussolini visit Africa today or review their fleets in the Mediterranean? Can Emperor Hirohito of Japan take lunch with his Nazi and Fascist allies as King George has lunched with General de Gaulle, General Giraud and President Roosevelt's representative, General Eisenhower, in Africa?

I think it's pretty obvious who today is master of the sea, land and air which encircle the miserable, starving, panic-stricken Fortress of Europe.

Bombing policy

JUNE 25, 1943

I think a few words are necessary at this moment on the subject of the Anglo-American bombing offensive, which, in the past 24 hours, has ranged in great force over the Ruhr, North-West Germany, Sardinia, Sicily and Greece.

First of all, it is necessary to state absolutely clearly that nothing will divert us from carrying out our well considered policy of bombing our enemies' war machine in all its ramifications.

Our bombing is part of a well conceived plan. It is not intended to achieve decisive results all by itself. We don't believe for a moment that simply by air assault we shall destroy our enemies' *will* to resist us, but we do believe that we shall destroy their *power* to resist us.

Dr. Goebbels says to the German people that they must hold on, implying that if they stand up to the bombing they can defeat our plan. But Dr. Goebbels' exhortations are irrelevant. Whether or not the German people hold on, nothing can now prevent us from carrying out our plan, which is, simply, to destroy our enemies' capacity to produce and transport the weapons which they will need to repel the real assault when it comes.

This bombing offensive of ours is not the real crisis but just its preliminary stages.

However doggedly the Germans and Italians 'hold on' in face of the crisis which now undoubtedly faces them, let them realise that this is really only the beginning, part of a plan which assumes that they *will* hold on and is aimed not at bringing about a collapse on the home front but at creating the conditions for a breakdown on the fighting fronts . .

Turin workers assert their rights

JUNE 27, 1943

Something is happening in Europe for which the world has long been waiting, something which holds out hope that this fearful conflict may be curtailed and that when it is over humanity will not be divided indefinitely into two camps, the victors, distrustful and contemptuous, and the vanquished, bitter, hostile and revengeful.

The large-scale strike which it has just been learnt occurred in March in the Fiat Works in Turin, the very heart of the Italian war machine, was a great and historic event because it showed that at last the Italian workers had realised not only that the assertion of their rights and

dignity as human beings was incompatible with loyalty to the Fascist régime but also that they had the power, if they stood together, to defy that régime.

Those 50,000 Italian workers of Turin did not strike because they had suddenly been converted by Allied bombing of their factories into anti-Fascists and good Democrats. No workers, Italian or otherwise, are so feeble and cowardly as that, for they are used to hardship and danger. Men who could be driven overnight simply by bombing to reject a faith which they had genuinely held hitherto would not have had the guts to stand up to the police and troops sent against them by the Fascists. Nor would the free world have any reason to honour or trust men who changed their coats from physical fear and acted at the height of a national crisis against a government which they had really believed to be serving the national interest as they saw it.

The motives behind the Turin strike were much more healthy and hopeful than that. These Italian workers acted because they had been cheated by a régime which treated them as dupes and slaves. They went on strike, not to curry favour with enemies whom they feared or in an attempt to escape from danger, but to assert their rights as human beings.

We in the free countries do not look forward to a new world in which the nations against whom we are now fighting will acknowledge no more than that we were the stronger. We want a world in which the masses of men and women everywhere will recognise that we fought for human rights and dignity against régimes which denied them.

The workers of Turin spontaneously and unconsciously lined up with us when they struck a blow for the same things for which we are fighting - justice and a square deal for the ordinary citizen against the same enemy as that against whom we are striking.

Men who go against the natural and strongly rooted instinct of national solidarity at a moment of national crisis for the sake of striking a blow for their rights as human beings, irrespective of the nationality of their oppressors, are well on the way to becoming potential citizens of the new world which we intend to build on the brotherhood of all men of all nations in defence of certain inalienable human rights.

There are a few who hope that the peoples of the countries against which we are fighting will remain to the bitter end the slaves and supporters of their régimes, yielding eventually only to brute force, so that they can with a better conscience be excluded by the victors from a fair share in the new world. Such men are blind because they do not see either that this will prolong the war and the world's sufferings or that it will postpone the establishment of a secure and durable peace.

For my part I rejoice when I learn that 50,000 Italians have demonstrated, long before the point of physical defeat at our hands, that they have the commonsense and courage to recognise and stand up against

their real enemies even though their less clear-sighted and timider compatriots may call them traitors.

Germany's triple illusion

AUGUST 9, 1943

From what I read in the papers of the Nazi propaganda at the moment it seems to me that the bosses in Berlin are trying desperately to do three things:

First they are trying to convince their own people that they *must* hold out because defeat would be worse even than what they're getting now.

Secondly, they're trying to persuade their own people that they *can* hold out and that, if they do, something will turn up to save them from defeat just as Britain was saved in spite of her desperate situation in 1940.

Thirdly, they're trying by their propaganda for abroad to make something turn up, in the form of war weariness and political dissension among the Allies.

So far as their first aim is concerned our answer is simple: we have pledged ourselves not to impose any vindictive peace – and our word is still, as always, as good as our bond; we have shown already in Sicily that our victory brings bread, freedom and the overthrow of corrupt and oppressive officials; and we shall continue to prove to the German people, only more so, that *nothing* could be worse than the continuation of this war.

As regards the Nazis' second effort – to persuade the Germans and others that they *can* hold out and that, if they do, something will turn up to save them as Britain was saved in 1940, we need only point out these facts:

There is no comparison between the position of Britain in 1940 and that of Germany today. Britain, in the first year of war, was unprepared and unmobile and needed only time to organise herself and the vast resources of her Empire; she had powerful friends, who were already giving her valuable help and were preparing to enter the war on her side when they were ready. She had a cause worth fighting for, she believed in the enduring character of her ancient institutions and she had every reason to believe from what the Nazis had already done to conquered peoples that it was better to perish than surrender. Today, Germany after 10 years of mobilisation for war and four years of war, has no new resources upon which to draw; she hasn't a friend in the world; the so-called allies whom she did coerce into aiding her are getting

ready to desert her; the German people have no cause worth fighting for, have no reason to believe after the collapse of Fascism in Italy, in the enduring character of their upstart political system and have nothing but their lying leaders' words to make them believe that it is better to perish than surrender.

As for the Nazis' third aim, to create war-weariness and dissension among the Allies, the fact that it is so clumsily revealed is one of the surest guarantees of its failure. Apart from that, we are far from weary but very fresh and fresher for our first tastes of victory. As for dissension, well, we and our Allies have our differences – and some of them are quite important ones – but none of them is so important and fundamental as the resolve, common to all of us, to sacrifice every material asset which we possess, if need be, to the common task of destroying and preventing the revival of the monstrous militarism of Germany. London, Washington and Moscow may argue about the methods best suited to achieve this supreme end most speedily and thoroughly but that common aim is a cement which cannot be broken.

So the Nazi triple propaganda aim is just a triple illusion. They may or may not be deceived by it themselves but the sooner their wretched people recognise it for what it is, the sooner they will escape from the nightmare in which they now live into the dawn of a new and happier era for all mankind.

Churchill's transatlantic visit

AUGUST 11, 1943

The news that Churchill had gone to Canada to talk to the Dominion government leaders and military chiefs and would shortly be holding conferences with Roosevelt and the British and American general staffs came as no surprise to us here in London.

The disastrous failure of the German offensive in Russia, the brilliant exploitation of that failure by the Red Army, the great Anglo-American successes in Italy, the collapse of Fascist Italy and the chaos and dismay caused in Germany by the Allied air offensive on top of all these events have together created a military and psychological situation which presents the Allies with enormous possibilities and opportunities. And it is obviously essential that the men who at Casablanca drew up the plans which have led to such splendid and unexpectedly swift successes for British and American arms should, in relation to the great and victorious Soviet effort which no one had any reason or right to count on, meet together to consider how far the plans laid down six months ago should be modified and adjusted to take advantage of events which have developed ahead of their schedule.

It is necessary for Churchill to consult with the Canadian and American leaders because British Canadian and American forces are fighting side by side in the same Army group in Sicily and will be doing so wherever our offensive leads us.

There is no such need for detailed discussion and agreement between the Anglo American allies and the Soviet in the military sphere for though the main moves in the Allies' joint strategy are closely concerted on all fronts and full knowledge is possessed by Moscow on the one hand and London and Washington on the other of each other's general strategic intentions. Russian and Anglo American forces are not mixed up together on the same fronts and Stalin has no more need to get our agreement to his detailed tactical plans of operations than we have to get his agreement to ours since in neither case is the fate of troops of one country subject to decisions taken by commanders of another.

To strike a mortal blow ourselves or to create a military situation which will enable the Red Army to strike such a blow, involves major decisions and detailed arrangements to which all representatives of the democratic nations whose troops are involved must be a party.

Those decisions and arrangements are now being made by our chosen leaders. Meanwhile our enemies, virtually leaderless, await the blows which will follow, conscious that only retreat might possibly avert the shock of them, that retreat in any case means defeat and that there can be no retreat from Allied air forces.

Enemy delaying actions

AUGUST 13 1943

The German and Italian people are being told that a most successful delaying action is being fought by their troops in Sicily. Some delaying action! Virtually all Sicily, a great and, of course, impregnable island with four million inhabitants, conquered in five weeks. Delaying action! Delaying what? It hasn't delayed the smashing blows at military and industrial targets in Milan, Turin, Rome and Naples. If it hadn't been for this delaying action, of course, we shouldn't have had to bomb the Italians. The only thing that the great delaying action of Sicily has delayed is peace for the Italian people. I wonder if they're pleased about it.

Then, of course, there's the great delaying action by the German Army in Russia, which was supposed to have delayed the Soviet out of the war this summer. It's only a week since the German official news

agency described the fall of Orsk as a major Soviet defeat. What they will call the fall of Kharkov is rather hard to imagine.

I suppose they'll say that by giving up that great communications centre and base they've surmounted a great crisis and point to the fact that they're still able to retreat as proof that the final supreme effort of the Red Army has failed.

Let the Germans swallow this stuff if they want to, but let those of them who've still got any sense left realise that this is only the *beginning*.

Delaying actions! Delaying what? Delaying the peace, justice and security for victors and vanquished alike, delaying freedom from fear and want, freedom of speech and thought and conscience for all nations everywhere. Hold on indeed! They must be crazy.

Rome declared an open city

AUGUST 15, 1943

I don't pretend to be an international lawyer, but this is what I think as an ordinary citizen about Rome being declared an open city. And this is what the people and the press here are saying.

Marshal Badoglio must know as a soldier that if his declaration is honourably carried out and is not a dishonest subterfuge of the kind to be expected from a Nazi or Fascist, but not from one who claims to have restored Italy's self-respect and traditional code – he must know that if Rome is not only *declared* but really *made* an open city it is the same thing as the capitulation of the capital, and since Rome is the nerve centre of the conduct of the war in the south, it means the abandonment of the defence of southern and central Italy.

That being so, Marshal Badoglio must recognise that the only way to prevent Italy from becoming a battlefield is to complete the job and to stop assisting the Germans to defend the north, in other words, to take not only the people of Rome but the whole of Italy and its people out of Germany's war. One of the main pretexts of the Italian Government for refusing complete capitulation, that it would make Italy a battlefield, has thus been demolished, if Badoglio means what he says about Rome, for, with half Italy abandoned to the Allies, he will make Italy a battlefield unless he surrenders the other half too.

The capital of Italy has in fact – if Badoglio's declaration means anything – been surrendered unconditionally because it cannot be defended, and to spare its people the sufferings from which neither the Government nor the Germans can protect them. Surely those arguments are valid for the rest of the people of Italy.

As a soldier Marshal Badoglio must realise all this.

Zeesen and Barcelona try putting it across

AUGUST 18, 1943

I've been looking through the texts of some of the broadcasts put out in the past twenty-four hours or so from European stations and some of the articles written in the continental press recently, and very interesting reading they make.

Here, for instance, are some passages from a broadcast in English for America yesterday from the German station at Zeesen:

'Signs are increasing that the war may have reached a crucial and most dangerous turning point, a point beyond which the hope of stopping the conflagration before it menaces western, if not world civilisation itself, will steadily diminish.

'It is the time for quick, decisive thought and action which must come, not from the war leaders in London and Washington, but from the people themselves.

'It was only the reaction to defeat and the injustice of the Versailles Treaty that gave rise to Totalitarianism, some of the rigours of which the German would gladly take off once he were himself free from outside menaces.

'It is quite possible that the sufferings, sacrifices and reverses of recent months have chastened German extremists and have made the people generally better disposed to accept a practical workable and just peace.

'Presuming that German resistance might eventually be broken, this would mean either that European civilisation would be utterly destroyed, or that after a long period of chaos and disorder, Europe would finally throw out the invader by developing to an even higher degree its self-sufficiency, discipline and totalitarianism.

'If on the other hand the statesman of the world and the peoples of the world are able to bring a prompt end to this war by a reasonable, just and generous peace, which would permit the economic reorganisation of Europe and end fears and conflict and armaments and similar competition, no great political transformation would be called for.'

'Think it over, dear Americans, and try to make your influence felt that the thing may be done in peace and order. Otherwise the sacrifices you are making in this war will be in vain.'

Well, that was what the Germans were saying to America last night – in brief, 'call off the war now and Germany, who never wanted to be Nazi really but fell under Hitler only owing to defeat, Versailles and the depression, will help to see to it that Europe does not carry out a revolution which might threaten the rights of property and so on. But if you won't give us peace now on good conditions and preserve the

ruling class in Germany, then Germany will fight on until all Europe is in a state of chaos and anarchy from which only an even worse form of totalitarianism can emerge.'

It's a clever argument because it might appeal to all who, while hating Hitlerism, are almost as much afraid of revolution. It tries to increase the fears of those who are already rather afraid of popular forces while persuading those who are really democratic in their faith that Fascism can best be overthrown and prevented from re-emerging by collaboration with forces in Germany which are anti-Nazi and at the same time anti-revolutionary.

This German broadcast appealed simultaneously to the Allied peoples against their war-mongering governments and to the Allied statesmen against the supposed revolutionaries in their countries. The latter appeal is particularly interesting and it is well supported in a Barcelona paper quoted by the German radio: This Spanish paper in effect calls on the authorities in London to discipline the responsible men of the B.B.C. for insulting everything that stands for order in Europe, for demanding that the peoples shall choose their own governments and for upholding democracy. This is what this Spanish paper, quoted by the German radio, writes:

'It is quite absurd the way the Anglo-Saxon radio can do nothing but demand a plebiscite everywhere in Europe, which, it is alleged, would prove that the people in Europe regard "democracy" as the only salvation of mankind.

'In view of its attitude, the B.B.C. must be regarded as a friend of the Soviet Union, and not of Great Britain: to this Britain must not be indifferent, if she wants to remain Britain.'

So this Spanish paper has the effrontery to say that it is inconceivable that the authorities in London should not prevent the B.B.C. from showing Britain as a champion of democracy, an upholder of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and a loyal partner in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty.

It would be interesting to know how this Spanish paper, quoted by the German radio, got the idea that it is inconceivable that the British authorities should tolerate the policy which they, on behalf of the British people, have publicly proclaimed.

For a breath of fresh air, we have to turn to the press of Finland, an enemy country, it is true, but nevertheless a democracy still.

All the papers published long articles on the anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, and the most widely read Finnish paper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, published practically in full the comments by the London *Times* and the *News Chronicle*.

A remarkable article on the fall of Mussolini entitled: 'He did not know the British' appeared in the Finnish periodical *Nya Argus*. The author is a former Cabinet Minister, Hornborg. Mussolini (he writes)

made one fatal mistake – he did not know the British. He derided British guarantees and forgot that the mills of God grind slowly. It takes time for British to mobilise its spiritual and material powers, but they are there.

The Finnish article continues: 'Now in the fourth year of war, the British really have got going, and it is difficult now to find anyone who derides British guarantees.'

Nobody derides British guarantees! Among those guarantees are the destruction of Fascism everywhere and the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government.

Let that be remembered, everywhere.

The Danes arise

AUGUST 27, 1943

When I opened my newspaper this morning I looked first at the pictures in it. There was an amazing and terrible picture of BERLIN burning after Monday's huge raid, and there was a photograph, too, showing the flattened sheds at Peenemünde in which Germany's best technicians and scientists, engaged on research and experiments on secret weapons, had lived and worked until the Royal Air Force found them out.

That is one kind of war, but there is another type, of which I was vividly reminded by another photograph in my paper, a photograph smuggled from Copenhagen. This showed a Danish workman, with an expression of great agony on his face and a bayonet in his chest, being carried to hospital by a policeman and tram conductor. He had been bayoneted by a German soldier for wearing an R.A.F. badge in his buttonhole. He was unarmed.

Yes, that is a different kind of war and the men who fight it deserve the deepest respect of all of us, even of our gallant airmen who nightly court death to strike the enemy. It is a hard war, hard physically and hard spiritually. The men who fight it have few arms – though they are getting more now by various means – and they have not got the leadership and the backing and support of a great machine of state as have those who fight in the regular armed forces of a belligerent Power. Their rightful leaders are for the most part either falsely collaborating with the enemy or have been forced to go into exile. Often these fighters for freedom are compelled to be lonely men, members of a small group who carry on the fight without the knowledge or active support of their fellow citizens – although this state of affairs is changing fast now in Denmark where, as in other enslaved countries, the whole people are now rising against the Germans and are ceasing to listen to those timid leaders who call for calm and obedience.

Indeed, united as never before on an issue of right and justice, the vast majority of the Danish people have now decided that they have had enough of submission to German exploitation and bullying. There has never been any doubt of the anti-Nazi feeling of the Danes as a whole and this dislike has been simmering and bubbling for some time. Now two events have turned this passive hostility into open and active opposition – the attempt to put Danes on trial in German so-called courts of law and the ending of the German transit traffic through Sweden to Norway, which makes Denmark a vital communications link between Germany and Norway.

The first caused the anger which gave impetus to the Danish uprising while the second provided a concrete and compelling motive for striking now, when the blow could help their Norwegian comrades and damage the Germans very seriously.

But since they have really started on the good work the Danes have done splendidly; they have marched into cafés infested by the invaders and disarmed and beaten up the German soldiers; they have chased them through the streets – a spectacle to delight the whole civilised world – and in a hundred ways have shown that Danes have not lost the toughness of the valiant ancestors whose blood we share.

This they are doing in solidarity and comradeship and the days of the lonely underground fighter have passed. And yet it is still a very hard kind of war to wage, this struggle of a civilian population against heavily armed invaders and it calls for a great degree of that priceless quality, civic courage – civic courage which enables a man to stand on his rights as a citizen, to insist on his dignity as an individual and to fulfil his role as an integral part of a people which knows its strength and its duty.

The Nazis and Fascists seek to turn men into isolated units, atomatons with no consciousness of themselves as members of a family and a community with rights against the State. They seek to disintegrate the living community of the people and make them cogs in a machine, members of a crowd, of a herd of slaves to the State. They have failed everywhere, certainly in Italy, and perhaps even in Germany.

Denmark, for its very peacefulness and lack of any martial ambitions, provides a perfect example of how the man in overalls can defeat the man in the jackboots.

British troops back in Europe: Italy's last chance

SEPTEMBER 3, 1943

So British troops stand once more on the mainland of Europe, are back on the Continent from which Hitler and his spokesmen declared in 1940

they had been driven for ever. They will not leave again until the ancient but vigorous civilisation which the Third Reich and its accomplices set out to destroy has been restored in all its beauty and glory and made safe for our children and our children's children.

This is more than a military operation this return of British troops to the Continent: it is a political symbol of pregnant meaning for the future of that Continent of which this island of Britain is a part. Britain always has been a part of Europe, although we have at times forgotten this – with disastrous consequences for our fellow Europeans and ourselves. Britain always will be a part of Europe and we shall not forget it again.

When, four years ago today, we took up the German challenge and went to war in fulfilment of our pledge to Poland we did so both because we were in honour bound to do our duty and because we knew that there could be no free and secure existence for ourselves if the rest of the Continent became enslaved.

An attack on Poland was an attack on all Europe and therefore upon ourselves. Germany's guilt was that, from inside the civilisation of which she ought to be a part and might have been a leader, she struck what was meant to be a mortal blow at the free association of independent civilised peoples. In that base betrayal, Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland are accomplices and they must suffer the disastrous consequences of this unsuccessful treachery until their alliance with Germany is severed.

Today Italy has the immediate opportunity to escape from the anti-European conspiracy hatched in Berlin and to help in the final defeat of that conspiracy and the restoration of a free and flourishing association of civilised peoples. With the advance guard of the armies of liberation already on their soil, the Italian people can no longer plead that they are powerless to reverse the evil course on which they were set by a government which they have already overthrown and whose members have been publicly proved to have used their power to amass vast private fortunes.

We make no appeal to the Italians; we offer no bribes and we utter no threats. We state simply the facts:

Italy is at present the ally of the guilty Power to whose overthrow we are pledged and so long as she remains the ally of the Third Reich we shall wage war against her with all our might. If Italy severs her alliance with Germany in the only way which is now possible for her to do so – by the capitulation of her forces to the Allied armies which have defeated them in fair fight – we are pledged to employ our victory with magnanimity and generosity. It cannot be said of Britain that she breaks her promises, which are never lightly made and which always accord not only with a full sense of honour but also with a realisation of where her own true interests lie.

We have promised to liberate Italy and conclude with her eventually a just peace because it is in our interests and those of all Europe to have a free and prosperous Italy and not to sow the seeds of bitterness and resentment. That promise will be kept. It is for the Italian people to decide whether the establishment of a just and honourable peace shall be accelerated or delayed, and whether Italy shall obtain release from a dishonourable and unjust war before or after she has been subjected to the intensified horrors which must follow from her becoming a German battlefield.

The German troops can be prevented from conducting effective resistance to the armies of liberation on Italian soil by the refusal of the Italian nation to grant them the essential aid in securing the supplies without which they cannot fight.

If that aid is not withheld, and if nothing is done to deprive the Germans of the capacity to fight in Italy, the sufferings of the Italian people will be intensified and prolonged and they will miss their chance of entering upon the new era which is opening, with their self-respect and reputation abroad restored by a blow struck on behalf of freedom, right and civilisation against the treacherous tyranny from which they have already freed themselves and which they ought to wish to see overthrown as rapidly as possible throughout the Continent.

Four years of unrelenting effort and sacrifice have carried our troops into Italy in the cause of freedom. The Italians have the good fortune to be the first people to be given the chance to greet them as liberators. It would be a tragic blunder to miss that chance and to go down to defeat as the allies of the anti-European conspirators of the Third Reich, set free against their will. That would indeed be an abdication of self-respect and the respect of the world which we have promised to do nothing against but which can only be fully restored by the Italian people themselves.

True colours

SEPTEMBER 9, 1943

There is a phrase about the fog of war. It certainly hangs over Italy at this moment. Nevertheless, enough news is seeping through to show that the Italian people, whether soldiers or civilians, are courageously resisting the attempts of the Germans to use their country as a buffer between the advancing army of liberation and life and the doom of the forces of tyranny and death.

The Italian people, we believe, are showing themselves in their true colours in resisting the German intruder with a fire and enthusiasm

which they never showed against the democracies but with which they astonished their foes on the Piave, and in defending their new-won freedom from Fascism with a stubbornness and resolution which they never displayed when they were asked to fight to rivet a tawdry tyranny on the world and themselves for a thousand years.

And the Nazis, too, have shown themselves in their true colours, as they rave and rant in baffled rage against a nation whom they had hoped to dupe and sacrifice for their own ends but which, at the eleventh hour awakened to the truth. The Nazis are showing themselves fools as well as scoundrels and are demonstrating to the world the pitiful bankruptcy of their political stock-in-trade as well as its unscrupulousness. These creatures who, a few days ago, were declaring that the overthrow of Fascism in Italy did not worry or concern them at all, that Italy was the natural ally of Germany whatever régime ruled in Rome because the Reich and Italy were bound in a community of interests in defence of Europe which transcended ideological bonds, these creatures now proclaim a puppet Fascist government of Italy and appeal to a people who were freed from Fascism only six weeks ago, to put on their chains again voluntarily.

They appeal to the Italian people in the name of Mussolini because there is no other name to invoke, and by doing so they admit to the world that their cause is identified not with the civilisation of Europe, which they still have the effrontery to claim to champion, but with the dissolute, corrupt and cruel adventurer who laid the rotten foundations of international Fascism and has been cast down in ruin already by the arms of the free nations and the revolt of the people he enslaved.

Let the Germans identify themselves with Mussolini and his gang. In no surer way could they foretell their own doom.

Mussolini or the Italian fleet

SEPTEMBER 13, 1943

We have got the Italian Fleet. Hitler claims to have got Mussolini.

The Italian Navy, according to Admiral Cunningham, is in very good condition, and ready to fight.

Mussolini, according to the Berlin radio, is in pretty bad shape, and it seems pretty clear from the vague and evasive statements in the German capital that that cock won't fight any more.

The Italian Fleet, battleships, cruisers and destroyers, has steamed into Malta in full sight of thousands and thousands of people – a superb spectacle, of a kind only witnessed once before in world history – when the German High Seas Fleet sailed into Scapa Flow in 1918.

Mussolini has so far not been visible to anyone – least of all to the Italian people. It is reported by the Germans that he has had a telephone talk with Hitler. And what a talk that must have been, if, indeed, it ever took place!

Can you imagine the eager yet fearful questions plied upon the Man of Destiny, who was to have established the new Roman Empire for 1,000 years, and was instead thrown out on his neck by his own people after twenty years, by the other Man of Destiny, who was to have set up a new pagan Empire for a millenium and will be cast down by allied arms if not by his own people, in about ten years?

Hitler, no doubt, asked Mussolini what it was like to be a supreme dictator one day and a common criminal the next. He should be interested to know.

Mussolini, I dare say, was keener to know what was behind this theatrical rescue stunt. What did Hitler want him to do now? Go back to Italy? I can imagine that that prospect did not appeal to Benito

I don't suppose Mussolini imagines that Hitler was actuated in kidnapping him by the motives of friendship and loyalty which loomed so large in the Fuehrer's recent speech. Mussolini, unless he is even more decrepit than is already well known, must remember Hitler's record as a loyal friend – Roehm, for instance. And if the ex-Duce has any Italian blood at all left in his hardened and corrupted arteries, must recall the remarkable instances of Hitler's friendship as manifested towards the Italian army when it was fighting his battles – at El Alamein, for instance, or on the Don or at Rostov, when Italians were left to fend for themselves, their transport stolen and their wounded done to death.

No, I don't think Mussolini will be taken in by the 'loyal friend' idea though, since he has no other friend in the world, he may be glad to be given a further lease of his miserable life by even as treacherous a friend as Hitler.

For ourselves we prefer to have the Italian fleet, Taranto, Brindisi and the friendship of the ordinary Italian people. These seem more solid gains than the possession of the disgusting person of Benito Mussolini. We shall get him anyhow if he lives long enough – even if Tojo sends a battalion of Japanese parachute troops to carry both him and Hitler off to Japan.

Some impressionable idiots may think that the acquisition of Mussolini, the temporary seizure of Rome, Milan and other cities and the disarming of a number of Italian troops represent successes for the Germans, but these people should cast their minds back a few weeks to the time when the Germans had Mussolini as their agent in full control of an Italy which was completely at their service. Then they will recognise that Hitler is like a man who, one minute standing

securely on firm ground, is pushed over a precipice, grabs at a tuft of grass on the bank and, holding on precariously, shouts that he has restored the situation.

Hitler has got Mussolini, so he says. He can have him! We have got the Italian fleet, the Italian naval bases we need most, and the support of the Italian people. Wouldn't Hitler like to make an exchange!

Hitler's clock strikes midnight

SEPTEMBER 15, 1943

When Hitler said some time ago that he, unlike other mortals, would not pay any attention to the striking of midnight, but would go on fighting until five past twelve, he thought it was a very good joke, and so did his listeners, who laughed uproariously. None of them thought then that it ever would strike twelve for the Third Reich.

But now the clock is striking midnight and all the world can hear it amid the thunder of the guns and the perfervid shouting of the German radio, which declaims again and again that it is still high noon, that Nazi vigour, speed and strength is still in its heyday, that Mussolini is in his seat again and all's well with the Fascist world.

They can hear those fateful chimes in Helsinki, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia, where those who once basked happily in the mid-day sunshine of German might, now shiver in the chill air of midnight and wonder how they can escape from their fate before the final stroke of the clock.

They can hear the chimes in the mountains and valleys of Yugoslavia and Greece, and for the people there it is a tocsin, calling them to the battle for liberty.

Above all, Hitler and his gang can hear the clock striking twelve, the first stroke of which rang out on the night of July 25, when Mussolini fell.

Hitler must pretend that it is still noonday and convince his own people, his vassals and as many of his enemies as possible that a year of unbroken defeat and crippling losses in men and equipment for Germany have changed nothing, that a year of scarcely checked victory and fabulously increasing resources in men and material has altered nothing for the Allies. Those who believe him and, over-anxious not to be accused of complacency and optimism, retail his story are his best friends, and they fight against the truth. For the truth is that, whatever may be the result of this or that battle, the Germans are using up in each battle they fight, troops and weapons which they cannot replace for the next battle.

Something like one-third of the total German forces in Italy are at this moment engaged in ferocious efforts to eject, from the Salerno bridgehead, the small advance guard of the Allied invading armies. The military idiots who were to be thrown into the sea within, at the most, nine hours have been ashore for a full week in the face of a force a great deal stronger than themselves, with considerable tank and artillery superiority, with every possible advantage of position and fully prepared for the landing.

This state of affairs was intolerable for the Nazis. And so yesterday the German Official News Agency began to circulate elaborate accounts of a disastrous defeat for the Allies at Salerno, and picturesque descriptions of a disorderly flight and evacuation, what they termed, ridiculously enough, another Dunkirk. Now, whatever may happen in the future, those stories were just plain lies and the Nazis must have known that there was a very good chance that they would eventually be exposed to the world as such by the course of events.

But the Nazis had to gamble: so desperate is their immediate need to create an impression of unimpaired strength and skill in order to arrest the disintegration of their entire political and military position that they had to risk the exposure and count on their stories coming true.

But whatever happens at Salerno, it will have no relation to Dunkirk. This is September, 1943, and no propaganda can make it May, 1940, again. Since then, there has been the Battle of Britain which broke the supremacy of the Luftwaffe for ever and set the hands of the clock inexorably in motion, from Germany's mid-day to her midnight, which is now striking. Since then, a vast German army has been swallowed up in Russia, the U-boats' Trafalgar has been fought in the Atlantic, Italy has awakened from the nightmare of Fascism and the German people have learnt what war really means.

No, the shrill tones of Nazi propaganda cannot drown the fateful strokes of the clock striking twelve for Hitler – the bell that tolls the doom of Fascism everywhere.

Hitler and those who still follow him are embracing a corpse, the corpse of Fascism which died on the night of July 25.

Two broken-down actors

SEPTEMBER 18, 1943

I once saw an old broken-down actor who tried to stage a come-back at a London music-hall. Years before, he had been a great star who had played to packed audiences and had always brought the house down.

But when I saw him it was a ludicrous, if pathetic, spectacle as he trotted out all the old tricks and gags while the audience sat in cold and stony silence.

The spell was broken, the magic was gone and all we saw on the stage was a pitiable wreck of a man striving desperately, with the aid of a large orchestra, an elaborate set of scenery and lavish make-up, to recapture the splendour of his heyday and repeat the triumph of his prime.

I've been reminded of that poor old actor during the last few days in which Hitler has been struggling so hard to revive the legend of his political and military genius. His attempt to stage a come-back began with his speech at the end of last week – was it perhaps positively his last appearance or will he step into the limelight again before the curtain finally falls?

Anyhow, there he was, the broken-down old actor posturing and declaiming as if he was once again at the top of the bill, playing to a rapt and entranced audience. But the gags dated terribly. That one, for instance, about Germany's intention of dealing with Italy's break-away from the Axis in the same way as the similar action by Yugoslavia was dealt with in 1941 – as if nothing had happened since then, as if there had been no Alamein, Tunis and Sicily, no Stalingrad, Orel and Khar'kov. The orchestra played up well, the brass blared and the drums rolled but the audience remained unimpressed. Then the old broken-down actor abandoned melodrama for sleight of hand and announced with a fanfare that he had produced Mussolini out of his hat like a white rabbit, or is it a white bull-frog? Again there was no applause, and, as the conjurer fumbled about, keeping up a loud patter to cover his discomfiture, the audience began to demand amid laughter to see the white rabbit. But no white rabbit appeared.

So hastily the conjuror passed to the next turn in which he was to appear as the champion pugilist, scoring a knock-out in the first round against John Bull and Uncle Sam. The drums rolled and the trombones blared and Goebbels dashed forward from Hitler's corner to proclaim the victor, but something went wrong and, to the huge delight of the audience, when the spotlight was switched on it showed Hitler on the floor with a black eye.

And now even the polite people in the front-row stalls, in Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia were beginning to get impatient at the exhibition while the rude folk in the Yugoslav gallery and even in the Italian pit were already pelting the sorry figure off the stage with rotten tomatoes and eggs.

And John Bull, whose job it was for so long to be knocked down while Hitler strutted about with his chest out and showing his biceps, well, John Bull had had enough of it and had started to hustle the one-time star off the stage.

But just when everyone was saying that it was time to ring down the curtain and bring on an entirely new act, the discomfited pugilist hurriedly becomes the conjurer again and shuffles to the front of the stage shouting that here it is at last – here is the white rabbit (or white bull-frog) after all: Mussolini himself invisible it is true but nevertheless audibly croaking into the microphone at last.

And there we leave him, the actor who tried to stage a come-back, the star of melodrama who now can only make the world laugh, the champion pugilist with a black eye and a bloody nose, the fumbling conjurer whose tricks always go wrong. We leave him with his invisible white-rabbit – his ghostly once-swollen but now deflated bull-frog of the Pontine Marshes, croaking into the microphone while the audience takes no notice at all but watches the next act, which has already begun: the act in which John Bull and Uncle Sam are performing some remarkable feats of strength and agility amid applause which completely drowns the croaking of the conjurer's bull-frog.

The secret weapon

SEPTEMBER 19, 1943

It's just over a month now since Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, who does the talking for the German Foreign Office, told the newspaper correspondents that Germany's war situation had improved notably during the past four weeks and that in another four weeks' time – that is, about now – there would be some really great good news for Germany's friends.

I remember that there was a good deal of speculation in my village inn that night as to what Schmidt was talking about. One man said he had read a report from Sweden in the newspaper about some wonderful secret weapon the Germans were working on – a rocket of some kind, which was going to change the whole course of the war. Another man said it couldn't be that because *he* had read a report from Switzerland that in the R.A.F. attack on Peenemuende – which was before Schmidt spoke – the Germans' secret weapon works had been put out of action and the idea dropped. The same man also said he remembered that just afterwards the newspaper reported an article in Himmler's S.S. paper telling people not to expect miracles. Perhaps Himmler knew more than Schmidt, he suggested.

Well, that was all a month ago and today someone in the inn remembered that Schmidt's four weeks were up and asked the rest of us whether we'd noticed anything particularly heartening from the German point of view having happened in the meantime. All I could remember having happened was the completion of the conquest of

Sicily, the invasion and capitulation of Italy, and the transformation of the Italian people from useful if unwilling allies into bitter and active enemies of Germany; the loss of the Donbas and most of the Ukraine by the Germans, another very bad month for the U-boats and some pretty heavy attacks on Germany by the Allied air forces without any retaliation over here.

I had to admit that Schmidt was too clever for me and I hadn't the slightest idea of what he could have meant.

The man on my right suggested that he might have been referring to a new way of writing communiqués and handling the news generally which the Nazis were working out and which was going to win them the war. And he mentioned the Berlin announcements last Tuesday that Salerno was a great German victory and another Dunkirk for us. But I objected that there wasn't anything new or secret in this; in fact the only difference between Nazi statements and communiqués now and those of earlier days was that today they only announce complete defensive victories in individual battles; in 1940 they announced that they had won the whole war in the west and in 1941 they said that the war in the east was over. Seeing that it hadn't worked when they went in for it in a big way not even Schmidt could have thought it would bring in any dividends on the present modest scale.

No, Schmidt must have meant something else. We scratched our heads and puzzled for a bit and then someone had a brain-wave.

There was, he said, obviously a German secret weapon after all, an absolutely brilliant and infallible one. 'What is it?' we all asked. 'Elastic!' he said. 'Simply common or garden elastic!'

Hadn't we noted, he asked, that the German military statesmen were always talking about elastic defence and elastic strategy and so on. Well, obviously this was a great invention which completely solved the German problems of shortage of men and material, a wonderful new ersatz much better than hedgehogs and concrete walls and pill-boxes, streets ahead of old-fashioned things like tanks and guns. All the Germans had to do was to remove their men and as much material as possible from the battlefield and let the Russians, British and Americans get tangled up in the elastic defences, which sooner or later were bound to drive them raving mad and so make them ready to believe that the war was going on for ever and therefore to sign a compromise peace.

That was what Schmidt had meant.

But, I said, what's the good of this ersatz German elastic when it only stretches one way – backwards towards the Reich? In fact, it isn't elastic at all; and it's not we who get entangled in it but the Germans and their friends. Besides, in any case, it doesn't go over the top of Germany and get turned round the bombers' propellers.

It's not elastic but just a propaganda line, another string to Goebbel's bow and a broken one at that. No, Dr. Schmidt must have meant some-

thing else. I wonder what it was.

Perhaps he meant that the good news for Germany was to be that the German Army was on its way out of Russia. Yes, I think that must have been it. For the German Army is on its way out and that's certainly good news for the German people in the long run but it's very, very bad news for the Nazis and the German Military clique who sent millions of Germans to Russia to murder and torture and then to die there.

Ghosts

SEPTEMBER 27, 1943

The Germans today are surrounded by ghosts, the ghosts of past victories and vanished glories – and the ghosts of dead German soldiers. Yesterday, when the free world celebrated our great victory in the Battle of Britain, the Germans must have thought ruefully of their Luftwaffe, a ghost of its former self today, and they must have been grievously afflicted by that saddest thing in life, the haunting spectre of the might have been – that triumphal march of the S.S. through the streets of London, with Hitler taking the salute in Buckingham Palace.

Nearly every Moscow communiqué names places haunted for the Germans by the ghosts of fine victories which were to end the war in the East and leave the Third Reich free to turn its arms against the Western democracies and reduce them to subjection. What must the German soldiers be thinking as they stream back through Smolensk, Kiev and Dniepropetrovsk? Nearly all the men who captured these cities in the first fine flush of 1941 are today among the many millions of Germans who have paid with their lives for Hitler's return fare to the Volga and back. Perhaps their successors, those about to die – not for victory for the Reich but to keep Hitler's neck from the noose for just a little longer, perhaps these doomed men saw their ghosts in the shadows of the ruined buildings and heard them whispering curses of the leaders who sent them to perish in a strange land, 1,000 kilometres from their homes and families, and for what? Simply so that the war might go on and millions more men, their fathers and their sons, might perish after them. And perhaps the German soldiers, reeling and stumbling back through the cities whose names are the ghosts of German victories, were haunted also by the spirits of the multitudes of Russians, men, women and children, whom they and their predecessors have slaughtered. In almost every city, town and village through which the German Army retreats, the ghosts of tortured children and outraged women must rise up to recall the crimes which

that army perpetrated from sheer brutality in its day of victory and power and continues to commit from habit – such is the corrupting madness of cruelty – in its day of defeat and desperation. One would have thought that the Germans had put enough on their consciences in the days when they feared no day of reckoning without adding now to the bloody burden when that day of reckoning and judgment draws nearer in the great strides of the Allied armies.

Long or short war ?

OCTOBER 17, 1943

Over here in BRITAIN the public is pretty well aware that the war has now entered its last phase

Will the last act be long or short? The men and women of this country, though ready enough to face a long struggle if it has to be faced, are extremely anxious that it shall be as short as possible – for their own sakes and for those of their friends and allies on the continent. They know that every unnecessary month that the war is prolonged not only extends the immediate suffering and misery of their friends in Europe and their own strain, hardships, and danger but is bound to prolong the period of privation and distress after victory and to postpone world recovery in the post-war era. The people over here know perfectly well that any policy which prolonged the war for the sake of avoiding immediate sacrifices or for fear of temporary disorders and insurrections on the continent would be paid for dearly in the future in the shape of an indefinite delay in world recovery, and chronic disorders and chaos. They know that at the worst, if the war goes on too long, and the Nazis are able to keep GERMANY in the field long enough for her defeat to be accompanied by complete economic and social breakdown, it will not only be the Germans who will suffer but everyone else as well. If it must be so, the people of this country will not shrink from even that; they will fight this war through to the bitter end however long it takes and, rather than permit Germany to avoid the total defeat which is essential for the eventual peace of the world, will see her reduced to anarchy and ruin and will face the consequences of a prolonged period of post-war economic and social dislocation as the less of two evils.

But it would be silly to pretend that people here are content for the war to pursue such a course and would be glad to see Germany and her vassals fall into chaos since it is so obvious that, though the Germans and their associates would be the main sufferers, all would suffer as a result.

It is, therefore, with the keenest interest that people over here are awaiting the Moscow Conference between Britain, the Soviet and the United States for on the outcome of that meeting depends, not the defeat of Germany, which is already inevitable, but the speed of that defeat and whether the Nazis will or not be thwarted in their intention to prolong the war and thus postpone their own doom at the cost of the economic and social collapse of Europe, Germany included.

If I were a German, a Rumanian, a Hungarian, a Bulgar or a Finn, I should be praying for the complete success of the Moscow talks for, though all must suffer if the war goes on too long, it will be Germany and her associates who will suffer most cruelly.

Evolution in Russia

OCTOBER 26, 1943

One of the things which caught my interest most in the descriptions of the Moscow Conference was the news that Marshal Stalin has now discarded his famous old civilian reefer jacket and is wearing the full-dress uniform of a Marshal, with golden epaulettes and all and the trousers no longer stuffed into his knee-boots as he used to wear them.

That may seem a trivial detail about a meeting which is settling the fate of tens of millions of people all over the world, but it isn't really. I think it's extremely important for it's an outward sign of the tremendous changes which have been taking place in Russia for some time in many spheres of life, the army, education and religion, for instance.

These changes have been interesting people a lot over here and there has been considerable discussion all over the country, among all kinds of folk, as to what is the real meaning of the Soviet's return to the traditional ranks, uniforms and decorations of the pre-Revolutionary Army, the much more nationalistic type of education now being adopted in the schools and the new attitude of tolerance towards the Orthodox Church. Some people – the knowing, wiseacre kind – have said that it's just propaganda; others, often the type who were most frightened of Bolshevism, funnily enough have declared that it's a real and dangerous return to old-fashioned Russian Imperialism. Well, naturally I don't know any better than anyone else, but it seems to me that these developments are neither propaganda nor an extreme form of reaction but a natural development in a country which has great traditions and a glorious history and has passed through a tremendous revolution which now, after 26 years, has found its feet and has realised its strength and the sources of that strength through ordeal by battle.

Marshal Stalin wears on the collar of his uniform the White Star of a

Marshal of the Russian Army and the Hammer and Sickle of the Revolution, and this is symbolic of the synthesis and blending of the old and the new in the Russia of today. Marshal Stalin has recognised with true realism that the strength of the Soviet Union, which has been so magnificently demonstrated in the field, is derived both from the great martial traditions of the Old Russia and from the new sense of social solidarity of the modern Russia, that it comes both from the almost mystic love of the soil of Holy Russia which is so closely bound up with the religion of the Orthodox Church and from the more rational love of the modern Soviet citizen for the fatherland in which he has for the first time got a real stake.

Stalin's new uniform is a symbol of this synthesis of old and new, which is a thing which we in Britain are well fitted to understand since perhaps in no other country is this blend of age-old tradition with eager forward-looking so pronounced as in the Britain of 1943 with a Prime Minister bearing the time-honoured name of Churchill and a Minister of Labour called Ernie Bevin.

A world safe for democracy

NOVEMBER 3, 1943

The democratic faith which we entered the war to defend for ourselves and our allies and to restore to those countries where it had been crushed, has received notable endorsement in the past few days. The thing that struck me most about the Moscow declaration was its forthright and unequivocal re-affirmation that the intention of the Allies is to restore democracy in Italy. No one is likely to imagine that Italy is a special and unique case, and it will certainly have been assumed by all peoples that it is our intention to create conditions in which every nation can choose its own form of government freely and by popular vote not just because we wish to foster elsewhere a political form which suits us well but because experience has shown that Fascism imposes scarcity and distress upon its victims, and therefore interferes with the prosperity of everyone else and because it leads to war.

The peoples of Europe can have no doubt now – and there have been at times serious doubts in their minds – they can have no doubt now that this time a war fought to make the world safe for democracy will really make it secure for democrats wherever they may be and whatever precise political formula they may adopt, and will not end with the revitalising of the forces of reaction and oppression.

But the last few days have yielded more than words; in Italy, practical steps are already being taken to transmute words into reality by the

formation of a Government of all the parties. The Allies have not interfered in this affair except in so far as they have broken the armed force of the Fascist régime and thus enabled the Italian people to act for themselves.

In Yugoslavia recently a Parliament met. It was not, of course, a fully representative Parliament, but it was the first practical functioning of the democratic idea since the invasion of the country by the Germans and Fascists.

In France, too, democracy is at work again and the meeting in Algiers today of the Consultative Assembly is indeed a historic event. No doubt there will be controversies and arguments. No doubt debate may become heated, but that is democracy and however much one may disagree with what some of the delegates may say, and deplore what may seem to be their wrong-headedness, we ought to rejoice that once more they have the right to speak their minds in public.

A philosopher once said, 'Sir, I hate your opinions, but I will defend your right to express them with my life.'

A good many lives have been given and will be given to defend the right of people to express opinions which those who laid down their lives may have hated, but I don't believe that one soldier, sailor or airman on the democratic side who has made the great sacrifice would have questioned for a moment that his sacrifice was worth while.

Crisis in the Lebanon

NOVEMBER 16, 1943

Nobody in this country could complain today that the newspapers lacked interest. Pride of place was, of course, given to the Red Army's new break-through north of the Pripet Marshes – and the papers had quite a lot to say about these very unpleasant bogs into which many German soldiers are likely to be driven. Then there was quite a lot about the heavy bombing of the Bulgarian capital, the panic in Rumania, the movement of German troops out of northern Finland and north Norway, the grim battle being fought by British, Greeks and Italians side by side in Leros against the German invaders so desperately trying to remove this spearhead thrust into their Aegean defences. There were stories of German brutality and looting in Italy and rising resistance by the Italian people, the important statement on Allied unity at the Moscow Conference by Mr. Cordell Hull, Mr. Roosevelt's urgent message to the American Senate asking for its speedy assent to agreement among the United Nations for the relief and rehabilitation of Europe and the announcement that at the request of the Socialist Government of Australia

the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, is to go to the Dominion as its Governor-General.

There was a lot of other interesting news, too, but more space was given in the news and editorial columns about French affairs than to any other topic.

There were two main stories about France that people were reading in their papers today, one a grand and heartening story about the ever-spreading resistance of the French people to the German invader and the rapidly swelling strength of the great underground French army of the Maquis, and the other the disturbing and disquieting news about the situation in the Lebanon.

Just as their hearts are warm with admiration for the gallantry of their French friends in their fight for independence and freedom in their own country, the British people are worried and troubled about the action taken by the representatives of France against the Lebanese people, who are also striving to be free and independent.

The last thing in the world the British people want is a dispute with their French Allies and yet they would assuredly give their government the fullest support in any action it might be forced to take to honour Britain's pledges to the Lebanese, to preserve the country's good name throughout the Arab and Moslem world, to uphold the principles of fair and moderate dealing with small nations and to guard the strategic interests of the Grand Alliance in a vital area where Britain bears the main responsibility for these interests.

There is no question of there being a clash of British and French interests in the Levant. We have got beyond that archaic conception of imperialism.

The true interests of France and Britain in the Near East are identical and they are identical also with those of all nations, including the Arab peoples, who together long for a speedy victory over the aggressive tyrannies so that a world of order of justice and security for free and independent nations may be established as quickly as possible.

It is to France's interest as much as it is to the interest of Britain and her other Allies and to the Arab peoples that the storm stirred up by hasty, arbitrary and violent action against the elected representatives of the Lebanese shall be calmed at once. France's own liberation will be accelerated, her fair reputation reinforced and her standing in the world strengthened by wise and statesmanlike action in this crisis.

We British have often made mistakes and we have never had cause to regret that we have usually remedied them. We certainly do not regard it as a loss of prestige to admit that we were wrong and to make amends and we do not regard it as humiliating or a sign of weakness in others if they do the same. On the contrary, we feel increased respect for them and the only people we despise are those who, like the Germans, are too arrogant and concerned with the sense of their own righteousness

and infallibility to be able to see anyone else's point of view or to admit their own error.

I, for one, believe that from this Lebanese crisis can emerge strengthened respect and friendship between Britain and France, a big step forward in the restoration of the real greatness of the French nation in the eyes of the world, an increased confidence in the relationship between the Arabs and France as well as between the Arabs and Britain and reinforced assurance to all peoples that the Great Powers among the Allies are sincere in the ideals they profess.

But not the least satisfactory consequence can be a further strong dose of chagrin for the Nazis and of disillusionment for those who still believe what they say.

If, on the other hand, those whose fortune it is to represent France among the nations should fail to recognise in which direction be the real interests of France, as of us all, then the British people will certainly desire their Government to do its duty by Britain's reputation for honouring her promises and not shrinking from responsibility in safeguarding the cause for which she fights, however painful it may be.

The Anti-Comintern Pact

NOVEMBER 26, 1943

It's hard to believe that it's only seven years ago today that the Nazis, having already secured Mussolini's willing complicity in their conspiracy to enslave the world, prevailed upon the Japanese to join them in their gamble by signing the so-called anti-Comintern Pact - a Pact which, Moscow was prompt to point out, was directed not only against the Soviet Union but against 'other countries,' all countries in fact, which were not prepared to accept the role of vassal to Germany.

Seven years! Not a long time in history, but to most of us, I expect, it seems like an aeon. What we have suffered spiritually and emotionally as well as physically in those years during which the fate of humanity for centuries has been settled! How often from 1936 almost until the present day, it seemed that the forces of freedom and the hopes of mankind were bound to founder and perish in a welter of folly and violence!

Moscow's warning went unheeded and the democracies great and small began to rush like Gadarene swine to their own destruction just because the Nazis had the crude cunning to call their conspiracy against the liberty of the peoples the 'anti-Comintern Pact.'

From then on, every act of unscrupulous violence which paved the way for the final onslaught against freedom and decency was blandly

labelled a blow against Bolshevism and one by one the bastions of the civilised world fell – all struck down in the name of the anti-Comintern Pact, until, after three years of unchecked triumph a day came when to the stoutest-hearted it seemed that Fascism had indeed come to stay for a thousand years and there was nothing to withstand it.

And now today, after only seven years, where stands Fascism? Even Mussolini, its inventor and originator, has thought it essential to drop the word 'Fascist' from the title of his movement, the Italian Social Republic, as it's now called – note, not even *National* Social Republic because National Socialism stinks in the nostrils of all sane men as much as its Fascist parent. This beautiful system which was to have endured a millenium has been hastily and shamefully disowned by its progenitors even before it came of age.

It is, of course, only the name which has been repudiated and not the principles – if they can be so-called. These persist and, if given half a chance, will be nourished and spread underground like some foul weed until the time is ripe for them to blossom forth again. So we must tend our gardens vigilantly and thoroughly and root out the idea as well as destroy the label.

Now is the time, when the Fascists dare not even call themselves by the name under which they swaggered so arrogantly only a short while ago, for us to finish the job.

Now is the time, when Goebels is complaining bitterly that Europe no longer responds to his Bolshevik Bogey propaganda, to resolve that this sane and healthy state of affairs shall endure and that never again shall anyone be allowed to repeat the anti-Comintern trick and to promote a conspiracy for the enslavement of mankind under the camouflage of establishing a bulwark against revolution.

Seven years ago this crude confidence trick was played on the world successfully and within four years its applauding dupes were face to face with unmitigated ruin and disaster. With the memory of that narrow escape fresh in our minds, the peoples of Europe should not allow the spectacular downfall of the Fascist systems to blind them to the danger that new confidence tricksters, with a variation on the old fraud of the anti-Comintern Pact, may arise to lead an unwary world this time not to the brink of catastrophe but over it.

Smuts' Speech

DECEMBER 3. 1943

General Smuts' speech setting out his lines of thought on the shape of things to come has naturally aroused very great interest in this

country, as elsewhere. The South African Prime Minister's great experience and intellectual capacity, his powers of judgment and whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of humanity entitle his words to be weighed very carefully. Above all, his frankness and forthright, even blunt, outspokenness are welcomed by people here, who like a man to speak his views plainly whether they agree with him or not.

No one in this country is today in the mood for pursuing illusions or running away from realities and it is pretty generally felt that, as Smuts said, catchwords and ideals are not enough, democracy has got to be made to work by discipline and leadership and peace must be backed by power. Very few people believe that the old Europe can ever be restored or, since it has been so frequently riven by wars, that it ought to be. Most of us have long recognised without fear, suspicion or jealousy, that the Soviet Union will after this war be by far the strongest continental Power and that on the world stage Britain and her Commonwealth, though representing a very strong unit of power and enjoying a great prestige and respect, cannot by themselves equal either the Soviet or the United States who will be her partners in the triple concert of world Powers, on which the preservation of peace must depend for the next twenty years at least, and perhaps more.

General Smuts' frank statement of these facts and examination of the consequences which flow from them is, therefore, regarded by nearly all those with whom I have discussed the matter, as a timely and valuable contribution to the vitally necessary process of straight thinking based on fundamental realities instead of woolly thinking based on prejudices.

His view that Italy is unlikely to become a Great Power again, will receive general agreement even from those who may be sorry to agree, and it is doubtful whether the Italian people will be very grieved at the verdict after their recent experiences. His opinion that the old Bismarckian Germany will probably never emerge again in the old form in spite of Germany's inherent strength and the numbers and qualities of her people, and that Germany may not be in a position to stand as a Great Power again until the world of Great Powers has given place to a different kind of world, is also likely to be accepted as the truth by most of us, and here again the German people, who have been threatened by their own leaders with complete annihilation, may well receive with some relief the suggestion that the consequences of defeat will be merely retirement from the stage as a Great Power.

General Smuts' statement that France has gone, and will be gone in our day and perhaps for many a long day, would by itself certainly be regarded in Britain as unnecessarily pessimistic, but, in fact, it was qualified by such phrases as 'she will not easily resume her place again,' and 'it will be a hard and a long upward pull for her to emerge again,' which very clearly indicate that the full resurrection of French

greatness is by no means ruled out. Assuredly it must be agreed that General Smuts was right when he said that talking about France as a Great Power will not help her much and, indeed, the British will do far more than talk: they will, as they are pledged and as a French speaker in Algiers has confidently asserted, help her to recover by all means in their power. The French people are today showing that they have greatness though they may have a long struggle before them.

Indeed, General Smuts' suggestion of a great European State of the Continental nations of the West closely associated with Britain, which could enter the Concert of Powers on a footing of equality with the Soviet and the United States, could hardly be realised unless it included a France restored to her greatness.

His assertion that Britain will emerge from the war comparatively poor has come as a shock to many people here but, here again, reflection leads to the realisation that it is not so pessimistic a view as it might first appear for there is the clear implication that Britain can and will replenish her depleted resources in co-operation with her fellow-European States as all recover their prosperity together. General Smuts obviously hopes that Britain and the Continental States which share her traditions and general outlook will get close together, not only that they may contribute to each other's prosperity but that together they may enable Western civilisation to play its full part for peace in the concert of Powers, along with the American and Soviet civilisations which, although they both derive a great deal from the ancient culture of historic Europe, have necessarily followed and will follow a somewhat different course.

He evidently believes that this close association of Continental States with Britain can be achieved by Britain's moral authority and political prestige and not for a moment by military or economic pressure, and that the adoption of his suggestion depends entirely on the will of the peoples concerned. Certainly, these peoples have nothing to fear in such a proposition and nothing to lose by it. I believe that they have much to hope for and gain from it, as we have ourselves. Nor is it in any way inspired by a desire to strengthen either Britain or her potential associates against any other Power. The purpose is obviously to strengthen the world organisation for peace by strengthening its component units, and to ensure not only security but a positive part in world management for those States which are too small to achieve either safety or an active role in its establishment if they stand alone or in groups which have no real power.

Whether a man is a national of a Great Power or a small one is an accident of birth and no question of merit.

For the ordinary citizen, it need not matter at all whether he is a member of a Great Power or a small one. He is interested in leading a full, happy and useful life, and in raising a family and educating a

family. In order to do this he must derive from his community, security and a reasonable standard of living and he must accept his responsibilities to the community which gives him these things. The citizen of Luxembourg or Albania is as good a man as the citizen of Britain or Russia; and, so long as he, as an individual, derives equal benefits from life and accepts equal responsibilities, it doesn't matter to him whether his benefits are derived from, and his responsibilities are owed ultimately to, a national community which in itself is a Great Power or from and to one which is a member of an association of nations which together have that status. In the last resort he owes everything to himself and to the world, to the fact that he is an individual member of the human race. The organisation of individuals in communities and of communities in States and Federations and so on is a means to an end — not an end in itself, and the end is to live the good life and to help others to do the same.

Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty

DECEMBER 12, 1943

The latest smack in the eye for gentry who harbour hopes of political differences between the Soviet and the other Allies is the signature in Moscow of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty. For months the Nazis have been trying to make bad blood between Russia and Britain and between Britain and the Czechoslovaks over this business. Their line was that if the treaty were not signed, it would be due to British distrust of the Soviet and that if it were, it would show that Czechoslovakia had forsaken her friends in the West in favour of the Russians. Now, less than a week after the Teheran Declaration announcing unqualified friendship and agreement between Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, we get the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty which provides yet another buttress for the system of democratic co-operation and mutual aid between free peoples which is the formula for victory and peace agreed upon at Teheran.

There are these things about the Czechoslovak people which seem to me to make this treaty particularly interesting and important. They have, ever since their re-emergence in 1918 as a nation, had very strong ties both with Britain and France, whose democratic and liberal political tradition they share, and at the same time have always felt deep friendship for their fellow Slavs of Russia. They have enjoyed excellent relations with their kindred of Yugoslavia and in the past with their Bulgarian fellow-Slavs, while with the Rumanian people, who actually mobilised to fight at their side in 1938, they were friends until the

present Bucharest Government betrayed Rumania to Germany.

The Czechs have always possessed the esteem of the smaller democracies of the West and North and have lately given proof of their desire for closer relations with Poland and of their readiness to collaborate with an independent Austria and a genuinely democratic Hungary. Furthermore, they are a small nation and their treaty with the Soviet is the first concrete step in the formal and full association of small States with the system of European security founded on the Anglo-Soviet alliance. Here is a small Power entering with full independence and complete confidence into collaboration with the Great Powers.

This treaty signed tonight, therefore, seems to me a particularly encouraging event for our side and an especially severe setback for the Nazis and their friends.

Stern words to Sweden

DECEMBER 13, 1943

When the Swedish Government placed itself at the head of the Swedish people – instead of lagging behind its own public and trying to pull them back by the coat-tails – and protested to Berlin against the deportation of the Oslo students, the peoples of the free world and of the enslaved countries, struggling to be free, applauded the action as a sign that Sweden had now courageously and definitely ranged herself alongside those nations 'dedicated in heart and mind to the rooting out of tyranny, oppression, slavery and intolerance'

It appears that we overestimated the determination of the Swedish Government and the degree to which it shared the anger and indignation of the public. It seems that Ribbentrop took a truer measure of the real situation and that his estimation that his insulting rejoinder to the protest would be meekly accepted was correct. That is the conclusion to which we are forced by the article in the *Socialdemokraten* in which it was lamely stated that the Government really meant its protest seriously in spite of Ribbentrop's hard words and still regards Norway's cause as its own although it could never be expected to do anything about it

If I were a Swede, I should not only be ashamed but apprehensive of my Government's conduct for it could not have been made clearer than it has been, following the Teheran Conference, that the great Powers, whose peoples in arms will destroy the forces responsible for such crimes as those perpetrated against the students of Oslo, and will prevent them from ever rising again, will require convincing evidence from each nation of its genuine love of liberty before that nation is accepted as a worthy member of the world family of democratic nations.

Germany's satellites, who are now becoming vociferous in their protestations of affection for the free way of life, have been sternly warned that deeds and not words alone will count, and it can be said of neutrals that active evidence that they detest tyranny and oppression should not be left until it involves no risk, if they are to take an honourable position alongside those who have risked everything for their convictions.

Those of us who know the Swedish people, however slightly, must be convinced that they, as much as any, are wronged by a conduct in their name which creates the impression that they are satisfied to pay lip service only to the standards of civilisation. It is not fair to them, who must suffer most from it.

German defeat at sea

DECEMBER 29, 1943

A great victory at sea does more to strike the imagination and stir the heart of the average British citizen than any other warlike event, and now our incomparable Navy has given us two great victories at sea in three days.

These reminders of the immense, decisive influence of sea power upon the course and result of this, as of all other wars in which Britain has been engaged, are timely, for control of the seas has been the factor which saved civilisation from destruction three and a half years ago, which has since then enabled the forces of freedom to prepare their mortal blow against tyranny and will permit them to deliver that *coup de grace* in the months that are ahead

And now the men of the Royal Navy have struck a doughty blow in the greatest offensive of all, that assault which will open the Second Front and complete the overthrow of Hitler.

For the sinking of the *Scharnhorst* and the three destroyers in the Bay of Biscay is certainly a formidable contribution to the preparation of that assault. The German Navy, long denied the use of the High Seas, has been carefully nursed as the first line of defence of the continental fortress, and now a big breach has been opened in that line of defence in the loss of the last remaining seaworthy capital ship and three of the far too few destroyers of which the Germans dispose.

On the eve of the year which will witness the great invasion of Hitler's Europe it is interesting to compare the difference between the fighting spirit of the men of the British and Allied Navies and that of Germany's sailors. In the *Scharnhorst* engagement, three British and one Norwegian destroyers did not hesitate to attack this powerful vessel and almost unsupported brought her to bay. In the Bay of Biscay

engagement, eleven German destroyers fled from two British cruisers and were soundly defeated when caught.

These two shameful German defeats at sea come as a climax to months of failure by Hitler's U-boats and surface ships and it is perhaps not surprising that, after such a record, the German seamen – misused and sacrificed by a futile strategy – are becoming discouraged and resigned to defeat

In 1918 it was in the German Navy that the light first dawned and the ordinary German decided that he'd had enough of his leaders' war. This sanity was infectious and soon spread to the Army. Perhaps it will be the same again. If so, the Germans will be spared much bloodshed, destruction and misery. If not, their defeat will be more ruinous than need otherwise be the case.

1944

<i>January 10.</i>	The execution of Ciano.
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<i>June 14.</i>	To Paris.
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<i>June 23.</i>	German mass shooting of British prisoners.
<i>July 3.</i>	Runstedt gets the Oakleaves.
<i>July 7.</i>	Runstedt gets the sack.
<i>July 21.</i>	The Generals' revolt against Hitler.
<i>July 22.</i>	Nazi labour leader calls for a pogrom of aristocrats.
<i>July 23.</i>	Civil war in Germany.
<i>August 1.</i>	The unholy alliance.
<i>August 5.</i>	Germany hears the guns.
<i>August 7.</i>	The Nazi nightmare.
<i>August 23.</i>	Liberation of Paris.

The execution of Ciano

JANUARY 10, 1944

So Fascism in Italy is dissolving in a welter of infamy. It is just about the most sordid and squalid story that history has to tell. Count Ciano, who combined the attributes of the Playboy of the Western World with the characteristics of the most unscrupulous gangster, is to meet the end of his sorry career before a firing squad acting under orders from the creature, Mussolini, who not only groomed him for stardom in the evil constellation of Fascism but made him his son-in-law.

For Ciano it is the fitting end of a disgraceful career. We need shed no tears for this pitiful figure. For Mussolini, who has ordered the death of his daughter's husband, it is, perhaps, the crowning infamy of an infamous life. He gains no merit by destroying this young criminal.

Both the man who is to die and the man who has ordered his death are the proven foes of any decent organisation of society and any

tolerable system of living. Had the boot been on the other foot, and had it been Ciano who had sentenced Mussolini it would have made no real difference: there would have been no sympathy for the victim and no commendation for the executioner.

Indeed, there should be only one reflection in the world at large on this rather lamentable and disgusting story – merely satisfaction that these enemies of society are so obligingly wiping each other out and a hopeful expectation that the practice will extend to Germany and elsewhere.

In the Fascist world, reflections will be less hopeful and expectations more anxious, for Ciano's fate at Mussolini's hands is an uncomfortable reminder of that of Roehm at Hitler's, a disturbing suggestion of what will happen to very many of the Fascist fraternity before the jungle life which they have inflicted upon the world is ended for ever.

It should serve to convince the peoples of Europe that, until the armed forces of Hitler and his associates are overthrown, they will live in a nightmare of treachery and vengeance and that the longer the war goes on the greater the danger of the continent falling into a state of anarchy, in which men who have always ruled through the method of the blood-bath will, if they are given the chance, wreak their frightful will in an orgy of murder

How many more fair-weather Fascists or Nazis are plotting to turn against their associates now that the doom of the whole foul system is clear beyond a doubt? And how many more will be struck down by desperate accomplices before the end?

Fascism, which has always thrived on the torture and murder of its opponents, is now devouring its own children. We are getting very near the end. We can regard the sentence of death upon the young Ciano by the decrepit Mussolini as a sign that Fascism will not only perish but will leave no progeny to trouble mankind.

The entente is restored

JANUARY 17, 1944

The British Press and public have found it an extremely happy combination of events that Mr. Churchill's full restoration to health should have been announced simultaneously with the news of the full restoration of the Entente between Britain and France. For there is a deep-seated and widespread feeling in this country that, provided we are united with our neighbours over the Channel, things are looking, as we say, shipshape and Bristol fashion – that is to say we feel at home and in a world which we can understand.

Very many of us grew up with the Entente with France, our earliest memories are of the comradeship in arms between Frenchmen and our fathers, uncles or elder brothers. Very many others themselves fought side by side with French soldiers. There are not so many in fact who can remember the days before the Entente.

It has been so much a part of the lives of the great majority of us that it was with dismay that we saw it growing strained in the years during which Germany was preparing for her second world war and striving with only too great a measure of success to estrange Britain and France as an essential preliminary. And it was with something more than dismay – it was with stunned incredulity, that we saw the Entente founder in the dreadful days of 1940.

Then, indeed, the bottom fell out of our world, but when we had recovered from the shock, we knew that the Entente would live again and that the great nation with which we had joined our destiny when the German menace first arose, would join us in arms again to strike the final blow which would end that peril for ever. Very soon after the crash Frenchmen were once more fighting as our comrades and all the time Britain was speaking to France over the radio as a friend and ally, only held back from fulfilling that role in the field by the brute force of the Germans and their traitorous servants and fighting with ever-increasing heroism and tenacity on the underground front.

And now, today, a French Army is in the field with us in Italy, acquitting itself with traditional dash and gallantry and other powerful French forces are preparing to join battle on new fronts.

France is herself again. She has a Government – in all but name – and a vigorous Parliament, which are reviving the best traditions of her statesmanship and political genius, and she has an army. It is the real authentic France, democratic, equalitarian and tingling with verve and life, the France of 1789 and of Valmy, with whose banners marched great ideas, ideas to which earlier Englishmen had made their contribution and which later Britons swiftly adopted and developed, ideas which carried civilisation forward past many milestones on its progress towards a freer, juster and more liberal way of life, and which will have played a decisive part in the defeat of tyranny and reaction everywhere.

The Entente is fully restored, the Entente in arms and the Entente in ideas. Let it now be our purpose to see to it that it is never broken.

The battle of Germany

FEBRUARY 27, 1944

Just under three and a half years ago, there was fought out in the blazing summer skies over Britain a battle which was to decide whether

freedom should perish from the earth. The battle was won, freedom survived in this island and in those still unconquered countries which, heartened by our successful defiance, took up the challenge to their own liberty; and there then began the long and weary period of preparation for another great battle, this time to decide whether tyranny shall perish from the earth.

It is that battle in the grey wintry skies over Germany of which we are now witnessing the opening stages, a battle which will, no less than that of 1940, decide the fate of mankind, for that battle must be won as decisively as its predecessor. Civilisation cannot flourish in a world half slave and half free.

In 1940, when the Germans set out to destroy the Royal Air Force as a preliminary to invasion, Hitler's resources were limited, his estimate of his enemy's strength was false and his time was short, for he knew that, unless he could achieve his aim in the West quickly and at reasonable cost, he must abandon it and turn eastwards in search of the oil, wheat and steel which he needed for a long war against a strengthening foe, and which, thanks to the Royal Navy, he could only get in Russia. For about six weeks, in August and September, the Luftwaffe did its worst and the R.A.F. its best, and then Germany had lost the battle, for the R.A.F. was so far from being beaten out of the skies that it inflicted on the Luftwaffe its record loss in one day at the end of that period and at the same time it struck with devastating effect against the German invasion concentration on the Channel coast. Hitler could not afford to go on losing planes at that rate, for the time allotted for the conquest of Britain was up and a powerful air force was needed for the conquest of Russian oil, wheat and steel which were essential for the long war which had now become inevitable.

Today the Allies have begun the critical phase of the Battle of Germany in very different conditions. They have made no false estimate of the enemy's strength, their resources are unlimited and the time at their disposal for the job in hand is commensurate with the magnitude of the task. They will do it as quickly as possible but there is no time limit, no new campaign to be undertaken elsewhere in order to acquire the materials necessary to enable them to continue the war. And, just as the Allies' position in attack is far more favourable today than was Germany's in 1940, so Germany's situation in defence is far worse than was Britain's in 1940. For, unlike Britain then, Germany now must face a day and night assault from two – and perhaps three – directions while at the same time fighting a colossal land campaign in the east and a costly one in the south as well. In 1940 Britain, with her sea routes kept open, had the resources, and labour of the free world at her disposal, while today Germany is blockaded and the workers of Europe are more eager to strike her down than to labour for her. Nor can the Germans strike now at our

invasion concentration but only at the civilians of London

It is clear as a pikestaff that the Allies must win this Battle of Germany, but it is also clear that it is on a far far greater scale than the *Battle of Britain*, that it is a preparation for a much more gigantic operation than the invasion of Britain would have been and that it must take a good deal longer to reach a decision than it took in 1940.

But, though the battle may rage on through the spring and into the summer, it will be won, and the German air force will be destroyed, that air force which has brought so much terror and misery to so many millions of people that its epitaph might well be 'never in the whole field of human crime has so much been suffered by so many at the hands of so few.'

And when the German air force has been reduced to impotence, heaven help the German army as it stands to face the avenging armies bearing in upon it from west, north, south and east!

Finland's chance

MARCH 1, 1944

The terms offered to Finland by the Soviet Union at the moment when the Red Army is conducting in North Russia a victorious offensive which is bound, sooner or later, to leave the Finns completely at Russia's mercy have been hailed throughout the world as amazing in their magnanimity.

Here is the greatest military power in the world, flushed with victory and the certainty of inflicting final defeat upon her enemies, offering to a small and now very weak neighbour a return to the *status quo* before that neighbour joined in the German campaign of plunder and destruction in the confident belief that Russia would be speedily crushed. Since June, 1941, when Finland attacked the Soviet, untold suffering has been inflicted upon the citizens of Leningrad by Finnish artillery and aircraft and German guns and bombers operating from Finnish soil. The assistance given to Hitler by the Finnish army at one time nearly turned the balance fatally against the Red Army and, after the tide had turned, it has delayed the liberation of the Russian people from German slavery. Yet, in spite of all this, the Soviet has demanded of Finland, in return for escape from the retribution which she might now expect, only those conditions which she regarded as essential to Russian security in 1940 and which subsequent events have shown beyond doubt to be so . . .

Finland today has a clear and simple choice between, on the one hand, ending the war, whose full horrors have not yet descended upon her and establishing for herself a secure and prosperous place in the New Europe

and, on the other hand, committing national suicide without even the sympathy of her former friends.

To the Allies, Finland's choice can make no vital difference, though it may prolong the war a little if she decides wrong. But to the Finnish people the decision is one in which everything is at stake.

As for the other vassals of Hitler, they can now see that the declarations by the Nazis and their own leaders that they have no choice but to fight on to the bitter end or suffer national extinction, have been proved a tissue of lies. Quite clearly, the choice is not between victory and annihilation but between peace and utter catastrophe. Particularly should the exemption of Finland from unconditional surrender, in spite of the Soviets' obvious ability to impose it, give them food for thought.

If I were a German

APRIL 18, 1944

The news which we read in our papers today leaves us in no doubt that the ring of avenging nations, as Churchill called them, is tightening round Germany inexorably and that, under this pressure, internal weaknesses in the Reich, both material and moral, are becoming more clearly revealed.

The Nazi radio and press commentators have clearly not been successful in their efforts to persuade the public that the Eastern Front is no longer of very great importance, that the Crimean débâcle should be viewed against the background of the war in the Far East and suchlike nonsense and that on the Western Front – admitted to be of vast importance – all is well.

If I were a German, even with the little knowledge of the facts permitted, no one would be able to convince me that the loss of 450,000 men and vast quantities of material on the Eastern Front in six weeks, the presence of the Red Army in Rumania and on the frontiers of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the failure of Manstein to remove the threat to Lvov, the 'gateway to the Reich,' were of small significance. Nor would anyone be able to kid me into believing that the skirmishing of Japanese patriots on the Indian frontier in any way minimised the catastrophe of the loss of anything from 100,000 to 140,000 men in the Crimea. I should want to know what was going to be done about it if it was, as is stated, the firm resolve of the High Command not to move troops from the West. I shouldn't be taken in – remembering the state of German manpower in 1918 after a shorter and less costly war – by pretence that there were reserves still in the Reich, and I should ask pretty anxiously how the Red Army was to be stopped without taking

troops from the West and if troops were taken from the West, how the British and Americans were going to be stopped.

They couldn't, if I were a German, fob me off with talk about the Western Wall, all underground and firing in all directions – just like the Maginot Line – or Germany's superb communications through a France, Belgium and Holland seething with sabotage and blasted by bombs, or Germany's magnificent air reconnaissance, which in the last few weeks has consisted of one plane sent over Britain in daylight and that one shot down.

And, as for the assurance that, although Germany was hopelessly outmatched in material she would pull through on account of surer war aims, better morale and a sounder spirit, well, if I were a German, I should wonder whether there mightn't be pretty good morale among enemies in whose countries the judges are not afraid to stand up to the Government and the public is able to insist on the freedom of the press (as in Australia, for instance), where members of the Government themselves uphold the sovereignty of people and Parliament over the Executive (as Lord Cranborne has), and where workers and employers as well as governments can send delegates to a great international conference such as the I.L.O. to work out plans for a better future. I think, if I were a German and heard about these things, I should fear that men from such countries would have surer war aims and fight better than those from a country where there is no law but Hitler's and Himmler's, where judges are police agents, and where there is no free press and no Parliament and no possibility of either workers or employers getting their ideas discussed independently of the Government.

The French Army in Italy

MAY 16, 1944

The great victory of the French army in the mountains south of the Liri Valley represents for us far more than a feat of arms; it is the proof that France is herself again – glorious in war and splendid in peace. It is the symbol of the restoration of the France whose armies of liberation drove back the German invaders in 1792 and in 1918, the France of liberty, equality and fraternity, of the democracy which is essentially the child of the English and French political genius, the child of parents who, whatever their tiffs and squabbles, are bound together by common love and pride for their offspring

France is her great self again and Britain is still herself: no one, Greek, Yugoslav or Pole or anyone else need fear that democracy will perish if now, on the eve of universal battle, some of its rights are

eschewed. The battle is on in Italy and the men who are fighting it victoriously are fighting so that the peoples shall enter into their inheritance of political freedom.

They can be trusted in this and too jealous an insistence on enjoyment of liberties now may hinder the victory which will make that enjoyment absolute and permanent.

The liberation of Rome

JUNE 4, 1944

The liberation of Rome is much more than a military victory: it is one of those great turning-points which mark the endless centuries-long struggle between good and evil, between progress and retrogression, between liberty and tyranny.

Rome is not just a centre of communications, not just a national capital, not even just the seat of the head of the Catholic Church: it is a symbol of everything that has been achieved by men of all nations and creeds who have fought, studied and taught to establish equality of all under the rule of law, the dignity of the individual intellect, the freedom which comes from knowledge, the compassion which comes from true humility and understanding and the reverence which is born of pride in the attainments of man made in the image of God.

It is not for nothing that the Allied troops who are marching down those history-soaked streets bear on their shoulders the insignia of the Crusader's shield. Not all of them are Christians; some of them are Moroccan Muslims and others are Hindus, Sikhs and Mohammedans from India; but all are crusaders for a common heritage—the Indians, as much as the British and Dominion troops, for that Commonwealth of Nations which has spread throughout the world the civilisation nurtured in Rome, and the Moroccans for that France which has for so long and so gallantly defended the legacy of the West.

The assault in the West

JUNE 7, 1944

Well, it's happened. We have kept faith and come back to France—France, which Hitler thought was his and would be a German dependency for a thousand years. Almost exactly four years ago Hitler declared that the war in the west was over, that the British

had been thrown out of Europe and would never return

We said we should go back even while our dazed men streamed back from the beaches and the German Army strutted arrogantly through the streets of Paris.

Hitler scornfully offered us peace as an alternative to having our cities wiped out. Churchill gave him our answer: 'Not one jot or tittle of our just demands do we abate—all shall be freed,' and Churchill set to work with the people he led to make it possible for that pledge to be honoured.

Four years ago! Four long years of waiting and working, of almost unbearable suspense, of disappointment, anxiety and hope deferred, of excitement and weariness and sometimes of fear, of anguish for our suffering friends across the waters, of bitter anger at cruelties we could not prevent but never of doubt that one day we should go back.

It has seemed a long time to us as well as to those who longed so passionately for our return and waited for it so patiently and bravely. Yet four years is not a long time in which to start almost from scratch, to make and equip a new army, to build up an invincible air force and to fashion a navy great enough for so stupendous a task as the landing and supplying of a force capable of challenging the military masters of the Continent.

But, with the magnificent assistance of our allies, we have done it and now we are back. We have done what we said we would when the world gave us up for lost, and our hearts are full.

Great dangers and anxieties still lie ahead. There will be more suspense and perhaps disappointment and no one imagines that the road to Berlin will be an easy one. But nothing can alter the fact that, four years after Hitler declared that the war in the west was over, there is again a front in France, and already a few square miles of French territory have been liberated.

The enemy knows there are great forces still not engaged in Britain, in Africa, and in the Middle East. He knows that the Allies have ample air power in all theatres and quite sufficient naval resources for other landings. He knows now that we are capable of putting our troops ashore in the most difficult conditions of weather and terrain and in spite of the best he can do in the way of defences and secret weapons. And he knows now that, through lack of air and sea reconnaissance and our ability to smash up his radio detection apparatus, he cannot tell when or where we are coming.

He has been surprised once and can be surprised again.

Hitler has had four years in which to get ready for us, but he wasn't ready for us, and it's no good for his mouthpieces to try to cover this up by saying, as they are, that it suits the High Command to let us get as many troops as possible well inland.

To Paris

JUNE 14, 1944

Four years ago today the German Army entered Paris. The bottom had fallen out of the civilised world. The historic home of liberty, enlightenment and liberal culture, the most precious shrine of our Western civilisation, had fallen into the clutches of those men from east of the Rhine who had declared war on that civilisation and had avowedly set out to destroy the entire conception of the freedom and dignity of the individual, of man as a citizen with rights against the State, with a mind and soul of his own and the right and duty of self-expression, independent judgment and of acting according to his own conscience.

Those men had resolved to replace this everywhere – even here in England – with the conception of the deified totalitarian State, a conception alien and hostile to everything which has given foundation and impetus to our progressive individualistic western civilisation and everything for which Paris stands in a very special way. And Paris had fallen to them.

It seemed then, with the armoured apostles of Treitschke, Nietzsche, Bernhardt and Rosenberg strutting through Paris, France about to fall, America still remote from the struggle, and Britain all alone, that the world was about to witness the end of the civilisation built up through three thousand years on the foundations laid for it by Plato, Socrates, Aristotle and Christ, and nurtured and improved by such products of it as Roger Bacon, St. Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Montesquieu, de Toqueville, Voltaire, Rousseau, Adam Smith, Michelet, John Stuart Mill, and Benedetto Croce.

The Germans, masters of France, Belgium, Holland and Denmark and Norway as they were of Poland, Bohemia and Italy, promised fresh blows to complete the destruction of the liberal democratic culture which they loathed and to make final the enslavement of mankind.

Britain, the last European citadel of Western civilisation, was to be invaded and conquered and an end made of it all, the last lamp extinguished.

That was how it seemed four years ago today, with the last British forces struggling home from France. Western civilisation, which had neglected its physical armaments and whose spiritual armament had been insidiously eroded by the pernicious ideas from beyond the Rhine, stood helpless and defenceless.

It only remained for Hitler to cross the Channel.

Today, four years later, it is the British and Americans, with the help of all their Allies, who – in Stalin's fine phrase – have forced the Channel

and, in that great soldier's words, have made good an undertaking the like of which has not been known in the whole history of war, so broad has been its conception, so grandiose its scale and so masterly its execution.

Today, Allied troops, 'pushing forward into France with all the vast weight behind them of the Western world, armed and organised for battle as never before, see signposts bearing the inscription 'TO PARIS!'

Paris is still a long way. Much blood must be shed before the city is restored to its rightful place as one of the trilogy of shrines - with liberated Rome and unconquered London - of our Western European civilisation, but in General Eisenhower's messages to his troops and to his President there is the confident assurance that that road will be traversed in triumph.

The lights are going up again in Europe, and to-day, United Nations Day, when, in Churchill's words, 'we honour the cause of good men throughout the world, the cause which inspired the energies and claims the loyalties of the greatest alliance that history has ever assembled to do battle against the powers of evil,' we should also remember the four-year-old tragedy of Paris which befell because the civilised nations were not united.

We have learnt our lesson, and have taken a vow. It shall not happen again. The armed hordes from east of the Rhine will never again trample their way across the Continent to the coast to menace our liberties and shatter our cities. Not only the German war machine must be smashed beyond repair but the wicked and perverted ideas which it served and which set it in motion must be rooted out, and the German public brought into the forward march of the civilisation which the men they chose to lead them so nearly destroyed.

The flying bomb

JUNE 16, 1944

The German secret weapon, which first was to have knocked Britain out of the war and then, at least, to have rendered the opening of the Western Front impossible, has now, at last, been put into action - ten days after the Allies had made good their landings in France. And Hitler apparently expects that, somehow or other, this little gadget of his is going to make some difference.

I wonder what Runstedt thinks about it as he prepares, with hopelessly inadequate air support, to fight a great battle in Normandy where the British and American Air Forces have slowed down so effectively the movements of his reserves and where his front line troops have to

suffer day and night assault from the air with virtually no protection.

I wonder what Kesselring thinks about it as he flees northwards in Italy with his broken armies under the unopposed bombardment from Allied Air Forces.

I wonder what the German troops on the Eastern Front think about it as they await the great onslaught from the Red Army and Air Force, in which they know from bitter experience of last year that they will get no help from the Luftwaffe.

I wonder, for that matter, what the German people at home think about it as they reflect upon this week's Allied air attacks on targets in the Reich and await those new blows which they must know are inevitable.

It is hardly necessary to speculate about what the Finns, Rumanians, Hungarians or Bulgars think about it as they wait for air assistance from their Great Protector.

All of them, the German Commanders and troops on all fronts, the German people at home and the armies and peoples of the vassal nations, must be expecting that this wonderful secret weapon, into the design and production of which, has gone so much labour, ingenuity and time which might otherwise have gone into giving them normal air support, will settle the whole issue of the war by reducing Britain to submission and surrender.

They may, of course – the German soldiers and people and their so-called Allies – wonder already why this colossal new weapon, deemed worthy of stealing the top position in the German High Command communiqué, was not used a bit earlier, before the Allies had landed a great army in Normandy, for instance. Yet, all the same, they must be convinced either that their leaders are hoaxers and frauds or that these clever little toys will, in fact, decide the conflict and bring Britain to her knees, suing for peace.

Well, that suits us

To anyone of even the meanest intelligence it must already be clear that the effective way to use air attack from the military point of view is the way in which we have been and are using it – namely in bombing German tank factories and forcing the 21st Panzer Division in Normandy to use French and Czechoslovak vehicles of ancient vintage, in destroying bridges, blocking roads and railways, and thus paralysing the German Army's mobility, in striking smashing blows at the Luftwaffe in the air and on the ground, in draining away German oil resources and in crippling what is still left uncrippled of the German Navy.

And not – through shortage of both planes and pilots – in scattering high explosive wantonly and uselessly among the farms and homes of a people who were undaunted under heavier fire, when they were alone and seemingly defeated, and not likely to wince now that they march forward with a great company to victory.

German mass shooting of British prisoners

JUNE 23, 1944

It is said that the British are a rather phlegmatic people, slow to anger and not given to hatred. That is, in general, true, I think, but there can be no doubt that the people of this country today feel a cold and contemptuous, but very deep, anger against the Germans. The massacres and bestialities in the occupied countries, the shooting of hostages, the revolting butchery of the Jews, the torturing and starvation which has been going on for years over the length and breadth of the Continent have created a profound disgust in this country for a nation which can allow itself to be ruled by men capable of such disgraceful acts.

But it is only natural—human nature being what it is—that we should be most moved by atrocities committed against ourselves and our own flesh and blood, that these should bring home to us most vividly what other peoples have had to suffer and make us realise most clearly how foul is the thing against which we fight.

The wanton and indiscriminate bombardment of Southern England by blindly flying bombs, whose victims have been almost exclusively families killed in their homes, has certainly produced a feeling of hard and steady anger against the men responsible for it, men who know that they have lost the war and can do nothing militarily effective to reverse the verdict but are resolved to kill as many people as they can before their doom overtakes them.

But it required Mr. Eden's statement in Parliament today that the Gestapo murdered our prisoner of war airmen in cold blood to bring us to the pitch of sheer implacable anger which we now feel. Personally, and I think I can speak for all my fellow-countrymen on this, the thought of those brave lads of ours, fettered and helpless in a far away land, being shot down in cold blood by the Gestapo after unspeakable ill-treatment, induces in me an icy rage of which I did not know I was capable.

To the German people, facing a defeat which the whole world now sees to be inevitable and not too far off, I would say this: 'Take care what further crimes you permit your leaders to perpetrate. The eve of downfall is not a good moment for a nation to allow itself to be branded before the world as one which murders its prisoners.'

Runstedt gets the Oakleaves

JULY 3, 1944

So Field Marshal von Runstedt has been given the Oak Leaves to the Iron Cross. It is an ominous distinction. Field Marshal von Paulus got the Oak Leaves after his Stalingrad disaster, when he obediently carried out his Fuehrer's orders and condemned about 300,000 of his own men to death rather than allow them to accept the Russian offer of honourable surrender. Paulus himself survived but he had earned his decorations vicariously by sending a sufficient number of other Germans to their graves uselessly.

General von Schlieben, of Cherbourg, has not yet got the Oak Leaves, although he ordered his troops to die to the last man while saving himself. Perhaps the figure of 45,000 German prisoners out of four divisions in the Peninsula was far too high. These men should have died for the Fuehrer. Then Schlieben would have earned his honourable decoration.

The principle now seems to be that a German general must either die himself or ensure that a very high proportion of his troops are killed for no purpose before qualifying for the Oak Leaves.

General Dollman, for instance, got his after his death in the Battle of Normandy. General Dietl got his after his death in unexplained circumstances.

These are exceptions, of course. The Oak Leaves are sometimes awarded to German generals who only subsequently meet defeat or death, or both. Two of the three generals whose deaths are announced in Russia today held the decoration. They got it a few months before taking part in the overwhelming disaster now being suffered by the German Army in the East, but they got it, of course, after being pretty badly defeated and sacrificing a great many of their men's lives in earlier battles.

There are two other living German notables who were given the Oak Leaves before defeat - Rommel and Doenitz. Rommel received his shortly before Alamein and the Tunisia calamity and Doenitz got his in April, 1943, the month before the one in which the Battle of the Atlantic was decisively won against the U-boats.

Since the Oak Leaves in general are given to German Commanders either just after or just before their defeat and the prodigal and useless sacrifice of their men's lives, I should think that Runstedt must be feeling pretty uncomfortable.

No doubt, since he hasn't yet earned the honour by carrying out a Stalingrad, the intention is to encourage him to prepare to perpetrate one, to emulate the three generals who have just fallen in Russia and

who, in the pointed words of Hitler's communiqué, remained true to their oath of allegiance. Whether it will have the desired effect and Runstedt will, when the inevitable overtakes him and his army, follow in Paulus's footsteps, or not, remains to be seen. But there is every indication that there will be many fewer German soldiers who will be ready to emulate their Stalingrad comrades' suicide.

In less than two months' fighting the Allies on all fronts have taken at least 180,000 prisoners. It will take more than Oak Leaves for German generals to alter this fact and what it means.

Runstedt gets the sack

JULY 7, 1944

The Red Army is bearing down fast on Vilna, and the Red Air Force is reconnoitring the frontier defences of East Prussia. A huge hole has been torn in the centre of the Germans' eastern front, their armies in the Baltic Republics are about to be cut off from the Reich except by sea, their troops in southern Poland are about to suffer the fate of their comrades in White Russia and their forces on the Carpathians and the Danube will, unless they start a swift mass retreat very soon, find themselves far from their homeland when the Russians, striking through Lvov and Cracow, are already there.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if Field Marshal von Runstedt - who was entrusted with the task of guarding the western gates to the Reich - should have told Hitler some plain home truths which led to him being sacked. What he said to him about the general situation can easily be guessed with the Russian Armies pouring through the wide open door in the East and the British and Americans shouldering with massive weight against a creaking door in the West which is slowly giving and will inevitably be smashed to splinters. Runstedt, of course, told Hitler just what Hindenburg told the Kaiser and the Crown Council in October, 1918 - simply that the Army, although still resisting, knew that the war was irretrievably lost and that to continue it was to massacre thousands of German soldiers for no purpose.

It is known that he also expressed bitter resentment at Hitler's recent glorification of generals who are so loyal to the Fuehrer that they outrage all military standards by forcing their men to die in utterly hopeless situations rather than surrendering honourably; and it is known that Hitler's latest speech, in which he based his determination to continue the useless struggle on the hoped-for results of the flying-bomb roused Runstedt to violent anger at such callous irresponsibility.

Accordingly Runstedt got dismissed - only five days after being

given the Oak Leaves in an attempt to keep him quiet, as suggested at the time. And a grim and intransigent answer has been given to all who think like him by Goebbels in his current *Das Reich* article. Goebbels admits that the mortal danger to Germany in both the East and the West will create a military situation impossible to retrieve, but he declares that Germany's boats are burned and that there is no longer any choice left – though his exaggerated emphasis in asserting that there can be no chance of an opposition peace government being formed, reveals his anxiety on this score.

In short, Hitler, Goebbels and Company are resolved that, as they are going down to doom, all Germany shall go with them. The lengths to which they are prepared to go to prolong their own lease of life for a few weeks, even if it involves the German nation in complete disaster, are illustrated by the revelation by a leading German journalist who has broken with them, that they even plan partisan warfare in the German mountains against the victorious Allied armies and air forces.

The Generals' revolt against Hitler

JULY 21, 1944

Nobody can doubt that the men in the best position to know – experienced and expert German professional soldiers – not only know that the war is lost for Germany already and that it is utterly disastrous for the future of the German nation to continue it, but that they also recognise that the only way to avert that disaster is to get rid of Hitler and the gang who support him.

So far we know the names of only two of the officers who initiated the revolt against Hitler. One was General Beck, regarded as the best brain in the German Army, and another was Colonel Count von Stauffenberg, for many years a member of the General Staff and therefore well acquainted with the truth about Germany's military situation. We know also from their own statements since they surrendered to the Russians that such experienced generals as Seydlitz, Hoefmeister and Bammeler, who have had at the front the fullest opportunity of judging Germany's prospects, are in complete sympathy with the anti-Hitler move.

We don't know where the recently sacked Runstedt or Falkenhausen stand in this matter but it is obvious that they would, secretly, if not openly, side with their colleague Beck rather than with Hitler and Himmler. Indeed, the suggestion by the Nazis that the rebels are confined to two generals and their adjutants would be obvious nonsense even if it were not for the direct evidence to the contrary provided by Hitler and Goering.

Two generals without any support would not have been so crazy as to challenge the S.S. and the Gestapo, and we know from Hitler and Goering that in fact the so-called usurpers included several generals dismissed from their commands at the front – which doesn't include Beck, who retired before the war – that they set up a rival government, and issued orders and manifestos to the population.

Hitler would not have had to appeal to the nation to stand by him and not to go over to the rebels if the latter had been only a mere couple of generals and their adjutants. Nor would it have been necessary to set up an Army of the Interior under Himmler and including a special branch of the Luftwaffe for internal use. Nor would Goering and Doenitz have been obliged to command that no orders should be accepted from anyone else.

And when it comes to a general instruction to all members of the armed forces to kill or arrest all those who bear orders from the rival group, it begins to look very like the first stage of a civil war.

That any officers who dared to act against the Hitler régime in favour of honourable capitulation in a hopeless military situation would enjoy very considerable support, both in the army and among the civil population, is clear from the fact that, since the Allied summer offensive began, at least 240,000 German troops have surrendered and from the great spate of attacks recently in the Nazi press on traitors, defeatists and malcontents.

Whether or not the rising has been crushed, will be crushed or will secure sufficient mass support to destroy Hitler, it is too early to say. It is certain that only by a revolt of the German soldiers and workers as a whole can Germany secure peace now and establish a basis for the achievement one day of a place among free and peace-loving nations ; but whether this happens or whether Hitler re-establishes his terrorist grip on the German nation and forces the continuation of a lost war, one thing is sure: a régime thus openly challenged at a moment of military disaster by acknowledged military leaders and experts can never hope to reassert its full authority or regain the confidence of its people and army.

When Mussolini fell – not, as Hitler says, by the action of a military clique but by the action of the Italian soldiers who refused to fight and the Italian workers who refused to work – Hitler declared that that would never happen to him, that such a split in Germany was unthinkable.

Now we know that there is just such a split in the Reich, and that, even if Hitler survives this time, the hour will strike when the German soldiers will refuse to fight and the German workers to work.

Hitler calls the first blow now struck against him a stab in the back of the fighting fronts and conjures up his old legend about 1918.

The truth is that, as in 1918, it was the army leaders who insisted on

capitulation against the will of the Government because the war was lost, so today it is the representatives of the defeated army at the fronts who demand surrender to avert the useless sacrifice of tens of thousands of lives. It is the political leaders in the Reich, the S.S. and the Gestapo, who are stabbing Germany in the back by insisting on the continuation of the senseless destruction of German manpower and material resources in a lost war and thus jeopardising the nation's future.

That this is the opinion of responsible German military leaders has once and for all been proved by the present events in the Reich.

Nazi labour leader calls for a pogrom of aristocrats

JULY 22, 1944

It's pretty obvious, from the latest Nazi propaganda treatment of the revolt in the Reich, that the peace movement is not confined to army officers but is gaining sympathy – if not yet active support – among the troops and the workers. Some of the Commanders at the fronts have felt compelled to issue orders of the day to their soldiers warning them that the war goes on, while Hitler himself has judged it necessary to follow up his hysterical call of loyalty, in the small hours of yesterday morning, with a special Order of the Day to the Army, declaring a confidence, which he evidently doesn't really feel, that the troops will fight obediently and loyally, as hitherto – a rather exceptional step to be taken by a Commander-in-Chief and Head of State.

On the Western Front German prisoners have expressed approval of the revolt, while from the Eastern Front, where the Commanders have still to make the requested declarations of loyalty, come circumstantial reports of clashes between soldiers and S.S. and of regroupings and transfers of units made necessary by the unreliability of the troops concerned.

The exaggerated and obviously faked Nazi reports of demonstrations of joy at Hitler's escape in the big cities of Germany reveal an acute anxiety about the attitude of the population in general. An obvious lack of enthusiasm in Munich is disclosed by the fact that the Gauleiter there had to affirm the loyalty of the people and to explain that they were showing their joy by their conduct under the Allies' heavy bombing. Dr. Ley, in a speech to factory workers, as immoderate as the potations which had evidently preceded it, revealed the cold attitude of the workers and his anxiety lest it might have been more actively hostile by thanking them for their 'decent and correct conduct.'

The Labour Front leader indulged in every excess of language in an

attempt to whip his audience into a state of indignation against the rebels, describing the officers concerned as nobles and blue-blooded dirty dogs in league with the English lords and the Bolsheviks – a supposed alliance for which the Conservative British press has shown the reverse of enthusiasm in its comments on the German militarists. This tirade and his befuddled and tactless reference to the past favours shown by Hitler to these very same blue-blooded aristocratic officers were pointedly deleted in the version of the speech released for the press ; but even the censored report showed the eagerness of the Nazi bosses to pose as the friends of the proletariat against the privileged without, by excessive vituperation and over-emphasis of the class war, goading into revolt such members of the traditional military caste as still support the regime.

Indeed the Nazi attempts, simultaneously to curry favour with the workers by denouncing the officers drawn from the landed aristocracy, to regain their hold over the officers' corps and to appeal to the devout and conservative elements by claiming Hitler's escape as a miraculous intervention by God, reveal that they realise that they cannot rely on any class or interest and must seek to appease all.

What they overlook is that workers and officers, agnostics and devout, radicals and conservatives, all have a common interest which unites them against the Nazis – the urgent desire to end the war. Since it is now obvious that it is only Hitler who stands between them and peace, it is improbable that many Germans will regard his escape from death as a miraculous intervention by Providence. Many Germans, particularly Catholics, will find it hard to believe that the Deity extended his protecting hand over Adolf Hitler to save this persecutor of Christians from a bomb placed by a young officer known to be a devout Catholic.

Germans in general may view with scepticism the suggestion that Providence was concerned to save Hitler's life so that he should be able to pursue his avowed purpose of sending tens of thousands more of them to their death in a lost war.

The German nation can without any doubt frustrate that intention at less cost in bloodshed than they would suffer by allowing it to be carried out if they unite against Hitler for peace as they once united behind him for war.

If they do this, it will be the first step towards their rehabilitation in the eyes of the world. If they don't, the world will be confirmed in the opinion that Hitler rightly described them in *Mein Kampf* as a nation of sheep – sheep for the slaughter.

Civil war in Germany

JULY 23, 1944

The Nazis and the generals who still support him – or pretend to – do protest too much. If all is calm and in good order, and if the peace movement is crushed, why has General Guderian to be put up to declare yet again that the Army is loyal to Hitler? Why the flood of obviously faked reports of pro-Hitler demonstrations? And why the complete absence of declarations of loyalty from the Army group commanders in the East, where not even the skill and courage of the great Red Army can fully account for the absolutely amazing collapse of the German Front?

With the Red Army in Pskov, outflanking Kaunas, nearly in East Prussia, in Kholm and the outskirts of Lublin, Lvov and Yaroslavl, with Brest-Litovsk outflanked and Stanislawow threatened, it is the voices of Seydlitz, Daniels and Hoffmeister, calling from Moscow to the German Army to march against Hitler and stop fighting the Russians, which speak for the German soldiers in the East – that huge army of forsaken and forgotten men, left to fend for themselves against an overwhelmingly powerful enemy while Hitler and his S.S. chiefs devote what little time is left to them to the torture of German officers who oppose him at home, the murder of prisoners of war, and the indiscriminate bombardment of British civilians.

No, Adolf Hitler has not surmounted his crisis by the simple process of executing a few officers, insulting the German Army by appointing the guttersnipe police spy, Himmler, commander-in-chief of the home forces and declaring that all is well. He can never get over this crisis. It will be with him until his end, and will be solved only by his destruction.

It is war to the death now between the little Nazi clique and its terrorist militia on the one hand, and the officers' corps and the non-Nazi soldiers on the other. Hitler and his Nazi thugs may have won the first round in this conflict and be temporarily on top on the home front, but this is only a phase in what amounts to the death-throes of the Third Reich, the bloodshot twilight of Hitlerism, the Neo-Nazi epilogue.

Almost exactly a year ago, in July, 1943, Mussolini was repudiated by the Italian Army, and his authority was destroyed. He escaped with his life and was able, with the support of Hitler, the Neo-Fascist desperadoes and some of the Italian generals, such as Graziani, to establish a reign of terror over the greater part of Italy for nearly a year. But he was nevertheless finished from the moment the Army turned against him. The all-powerful dictator ruling over a united nation and commanding a loyal army was no more, although he was able to put

De Bono, Ciano and many others to the sword, and what was left was the leader of a terrorist faction who sought to win back his power in a ruthless civil war.

Now, in July, 1944, that is exactly what has happened to Hitler. Repudiated openly by many of the Army leaders and covertly by many more, his unchallenged authority has been destroyed. He has escaped with his life and has been able, apparently, with the support of Himmler, the Neo-Nazi desperadoes and some of the generals, to establish a reign of terror. But his myth is dead. The all-powerful, universally revered and unchallenged leader of the nation and its Army is no more, although he has been able to put to the sword Beck and a number of so-far unnamed opponents. And what is left is the leader of a terrorist faction seeking to maintain his power by sheer violence in a ruthless civil war.

The terror may for a time conceal the civil war but it is in fact a part of it and so can only add fuel to its flames. Hitler is today just what he was ten years ago on the night of the long knives in June, 1934 – a fighter on the home front. Only then he had the German Army behind him and no Allied Armies in the field against him. Today, the Red Army is marching fast towards the Reich, the Allied Armies are pressing inexorably against the Reich's defences in the south and west, Allied bombers are smashing at the Reich itself and the German Army as a whole cannot be relied upon, however doggedly some parts of it may still be resisting for the moment.

Today Hitler, the world conqueror who thought he had established a régime which would dominate mankind for 1,000 years, is Hitler, the home front faction leader, who will be lucky if he keeps his hold upon Germany itself for 100 days.

But 100 days more of Hitler's war and Hitler's terror will cost the German people tens of thousands of lives and vast destruction, which, without Hitler, could end tomorrow.

Will the German Army tolerate the continuation of the senseless toll at the fronts and at home? Or will it make an end of a régime which first declared war on the world and has now declared war on the German nation?

The unholy alliance

AUGUST 1, 1944

Thirty years ago today Imperial Germany, the Germany of Frederick the Great, Hardenberg, Stein, Clausewitz, Bismarck and Hindenburg, went to war with Tsarist Russia, and early in that war the Russian invasion of Germany was decisively defeated in the Battle of Tannenberg – by Hindenburg.

Hindenburg became the idol of Germany and was made Supreme Commander and, although he was hopelessly defeated eventually by the British, French and American armies, he was able to persuade the German Government to make peace by capitulation before Germany and its Army was completely and utterly destroyed for all time.

Hindenburg and his kind from then on conspired to resurrect the German Army and prepare it for a second attempt to achieve world domination but, in order to do so, they had to defeat the enemy at home – those Germans who were genuinely through with war and wished to live decently as peaceful members of the comity of nations.

To win this first victory the Prussian military caste enlisted the help of Hitler and his Nazis and, to get into power, Hitler became their ally. Thus the unholy and fundamentally unreliable alliance was forged. Hitler wanted personal power, revenge against his most hated foes – the Jews, the trade unionists, the genuine artists, in fact all who had snubbed or had merely seemed superior to him in his underworld days. The Prussian militarists wanted to regain power from the anti-militarist social democrats. Both parties to the unholy alliance wanted war. Both made conditions. Hitler demanded the right to persecute all, even the well-born, whom he disliked socially and politically. Hindenburg and his circle demanded that the Nazis should keep their hands off the Army.

The contract was signed and sealed. Hitler could do what he liked in the political sphere but the Army was to be left to its traditional leaders. Thus Hitler came to power by grace of the Army chiefs, who thought that he would enable them to win their next war.

Both sides honoured their parts of the contract. Hitler was allowed to behave in a manner which disgusted all the traditional ruling caste of Germany but when Roehm and the S.A. tried to get hold of the army for the Nazis, Hitler massacred them.

He explained his bloody treachery to his old comrades by invoking his promise to Hindenburg that he would never politicise the army.

The unholy alliance prospered. Countries were overrun without or almost without a struggle and all was set for the final victory. Then things went wrong: Hitler dismissed Brauchitsch and the Nazis laid hands on the army; disaster followed disaster and Hitler's remedy was to get rid of more and more professional generals and impose more and more Nazi control.

The point came when the heirs of Hindenburg realised that the man they had raised to power in order to win the Second World War had not only failed in his allotted task but was bent on continuing the lost war and so destroying any last slender hope of yet another comeback for the Army in a third attempt. So came the generals' revolt. The army leaders dropped Hitler and tried to kill him.

Hitler, the home front fighter of 1933, who won power by allying

himself with the Junkers against his own party comrades, is today – after a brief interlude as a conqueror – back again where he was. Once more he is a home front fighter, leader of a faction struggling for power – stronger, it is true, for the moment because he has control of the machinery of State and the Police, but fundamentally weaker because he has not only lost the support of the Army chiefs but is fighting a lost war against the British Empire, the Soviet Union and the United States, not to mention the rest of his vast host of enemies.

Hitler today retains his authority over a defeated army – and therefore his ability to prolong the war – solely owing to that Army's oath of allegiance to him. That oath was taken ten years ago tomorrow, on the same day that Hindenburg died. It was extorted illegally, unconstitutionally and by trickery – on the strength of the promise to Hindenburg that the Nazis would keep their hands off the Army. He has broken the contract and so the army is released from its oath to him.

So now, on the anniversary of that oath, of Hindenburg's death, Hitler in the extremity to which he has been reduced by the smashing Allied blows, can find no better means of postponing his doom than that of declaring war on the leaders of his own army in a desperate effort to keep that army bound to an allegiance from which its own chiefs have declared it to be released by their open revolt against him.

Certainly we are witnessing the death throes of the Third Reich.

Germany hears the guns

AUGUST 5, 1944

At last Germany is hearing and feeling the guns and the consistent thunder of close range non-stop air bombardment – a different thing from the heavy but intermittent long-range air offensive which she has long known. The Russians are at the gates of East Prussia and have unloosed the cannonade; Stormoviks fly low over the frontier strafing as they go; the German frontier towns are in flames and the smoke billows out over the cornlands of the Junkers, while away to the West the great fleets of American heavy bombers leave a trail of fire and wreckage in a dozen German cities and towns.

Yes, the war has come to Germany. Soon it will flame from east and west right across the land which has sent out its cruel armies to lay waste to so many of its neighbours' countries.

West and east the last shields are being struck from the bloodstained hands of the Third Reich.

In the east, with two German armies already cut off in the Baltic

Republics, the remains of another army group dispersed into the Carpathians or isolated in the Balkans, the one remaining army of any value is being encircled round Warsaw. Here is all that is left of German armour in the East, and, as the Red Army, far west of the Vistula, dashes for Cracow and the Silesian border and moves up across the Niemen to the East Prussian border on a broad front, it is being sealed off from retreat. This last panzer army in the east is faced with destruction where it stands or destruction in retreat in the great plains of Poland, where the Polish people are rising in a levee *en masse* to help in the work.

In the west, the gamble has failed. To contain the Allies in Normandy all Germany's available troops, from Brittany and from the south and even from Paris, have been thrown in. Only the forces in the Pas de Calais, pinned down until too late by Hitler's obsession with the flying bomb, have been kept out of the battle. Yet, though every scrap of armour which could be found has been thrown in, the Allies have broken out and have begun the great battle of movement and encirclement, the Battle of France, which will soon become the Battle of Germany in the West.

The Americans are speeding for the Loire and striking eastwards behind the Germans in the Bocage country round what is left of the open German flank, as it swings back on the Villers-Bocage-Caen hinge. Now the British are smashing the hinge itself. Here the last German armoured force capable of giving battle to the great Anglo-American armoured and motorised army in defence of Paris, Strasbourg and the Rhine, is about to be destroyed. Either it will perish at the hands of the British where it now stands, or it will, seeking to escape, be smashed by the joint actions of the pursuing British and encircling American armies and their overwhelming air force, aided by the French people, now rising *en masse* across its lines of retreat.

The Seine bridges are down. There is no escape to the east. The Loire bridges are down. There is no escape to the south-west. The Americans will reach the Orleans gap between the Seine and the Loire before the Germans from Caen can get there. There will be no escape to the south. What is left of the German Army, if it gets away from the Orne, will be encircled in the plain before Paris and there it must either surrender or be put to the sword.

In the south, the bid to gain time at Florence has failed with the loss of a great part of the only first-class troops left for the defence of the Gothic line. When that line has gone then in Italy, as in France and Poland, the relics of the German Army will be encircled and destroyed in the great plain by its immensely stronger and more mobile opponents, aided by massive and unopposed air power and by a mass uprising of the Italian patriots, who are already sealing the German lines of escape through the Alps and Tito's men are on the march to help in the work.

And in the Reich, Hitler and Himmler complete the destruction of the High Command and General Staff of the Army. While the Allies smash the German Army at the fronts the Nazis are smashing it at home.

Here, indeed, is Armageddon – encirclement and destruction to the German armies simultaneously in the West and East, the certainty of the same fare for the German Army in Italy, final destruction from the air of the Reich's capacity to make war and in Germany a deadly struggle which is being carried on by the Nazis against the officers' corps to the point of extermination.

Small wonder that the Vatican paper *Osservatore Romano* has called for immediate peace, an end to the slaughter whose continuation can yield no useful results for Germany but will make her recovery impossible.

The Nazi nightmare

AUGUST 7, 1944

Nazi propaganda, designed to induce the German soldiers and people to sacrifice themselves in their millions on the already fiercely blazing funeral pyre of Hitler's Third Reich, has in the last forty-eight hours assumed a nightmarish character.

In a torrent of radio speeches, newspaper articles and addresses to public meetings, the Nazis have revealed the sheer terror with which they are filled by the disasters at the front and the widespread and influential peace movements in Germany, and particularly in the German Army. Speaker after speaker, from Hitler and Falkenhorst, the Commander in Norway, to gauleiters and specially picked soldiers from the ranks, have strongly protested that they will never capitulate and will see to it that no one else does, however great the temptation and however hopeless the situation is – and many now admit that it is hopeless, or would be, were it not for the miraculous new weapons which are to be produced in a few months' time.

And while they offer to the German Army and people as an inducement to sacrifice themselves in this holocaust the most blood-curdling threats as to what is to happen to Britain, the Nazis at the same time utter no less frightful menaces against a great mass of Germans, including now not only aristocrats and 'blue-blooded swine,' as Dr. Ley calls them, but the bourgeoisie, priests, civil servants, and all of whatever class not 100 per cent. Nazi.

The Germans would be wise to take the Nazis' threats to themselves more seriously than those to Britain. The threats to lay waste Britain

cannot be made good – and if they could, would not save Germany from the avenging British, American and Russian Armies – but the threats to plunge Germany into a terrible blood bath can and will be carried out if Hitler and Himmler are given the time.

'Give us a few months,' they scream, 'and we will turn the tables.' They will not be given a few months, for their effective field armies in the West and in the East – the only armies which can bar the Allied march to Berlin – are being encircled and destroyed.

They are powerless to escape and their destruction is being watched helplessly by the large but useless and wasted forces which Hitler has tied up in his futile Atlantic and East walls, in his South wall and *Ægean* wall.

In the West, while dozens of German divisions in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium guard valueless naval bases, deserted airfields, paralysed communications and useless supply dumps, or, as in Brittany surrender *en masse*, Kluge's Army is being encircled and pressed up against the bridgeless Seine and before many days is likely to have its back to the Channel whose coast it failed to defend, and its back to the Allied navies.

In the East, while scores of German divisions are isolated in Finland, the Baltic Republics, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria away from the real decisive battlefield in Poland, and while Hitler feverishly and futilely drives his German slaves to dig improvised trenches – which are supposed to give the Reich the protection which the vaunted East wall failed to give – the last Panzer army in the East is being encircled by the Russians driving across the Vistula and the Niemen.

No, Hitler will not be given his few months which he demands to carry out his threats against Britain, but if the German Army goes on fighting and the German people go on working, he will probably get the few weeks he needs in order to carry out his threats to wipe out entire classes in Germany, to turn the Reich into a vast cemetery of men and women suspected of having seen through the Nazi myth, a huge burial ground of field-m Marshals, generals, officers and soldiers regarded as unreliable, of bishops and priests, industrialists and merchants, civil servants, doctors, lawyers, suspected of wanting a future for the Reich – and of workers who are not too cowed and apathetic to speak and act against Himmler, like Franz Urda, sentenced to death today for spreading defeatist propaganda and working slowly.

The Nazis, in their call for a bloody revenge by the proletariat on the men who know enough to demand peace, will not spare the workers and German soldiers. Those who are not executed will be as surely murdered by Hitler and Himmler by being thrown, ageing men and raw youths, ill-armed and often untrained, into the hopeless battles which the Nazis intend to fight against the great Allied armies of superbly trained and equipped young men in their fighting prime.

Hitler and Himmler will have time to do this to the German people. It is all they will have time for, but they will do it – unless the German nation and army puts a stop to it in the only possible way, by refusing to work and to fight.

Liberation of Paris

AUGUST 23, 1944

I speak tonight, as one of millions of ordinary British citizens, with a full heart and quickening pulse at the news that Paris is again rid of the defilement of German occupation. While that lasted it was iron in the soul of all of us who had been brought up to recognise France as our natural friend and ally.

For me at least there have been two moments in this war when I felt sick at heart and had to grit my teeth to regain my faith that civilisation would conquer in the end. One was when we heard that our great battleships *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales* had been sunk. The other was when Paris fell. That the Japanese should have been able to strike so shattering a blow at Britain's naval power and that Hitler and his garish gang of barbarians should be able to strut as conquerors through the gracious streets of Paris, struck at the very foundations of our world.

But we took these blows without quailing because we knew that the everlasting greatness of British sea-power and of France would triumph over these grievous disasters.

Not one of us could think for a moment that the day would not dawn when Paris would once more belong not to the tasteless and uncouth plunderers from beyond the Rhine but to the nation which built it and made it great and to the civilised world which recognises it as the fountainhead of its inspiration and the chief shrine of its culture.

And now that day has dawned. Paris is free and herself again; a stifling weight has been lifted from our minds, and the sickness has left our hearts. Now we realise again with a sharp pang how much Paris has always meant to us.

Tonight we British vow that never again shall there be allowed to arise the slightest risk that Paris could be seized and violated by the invader from the east. The inviolability of the capital city of France shall be a charge upon the British as well as the French people. Paris shall be made as impregnable as London has been. Never again shall she suffer the bitter humiliation of foreign conquest.

The Paris that we loved only a little less than the people to whom she belongs will be herself again – only more beautiful and glorious than

THE 'MAN IN THE STREET' - TALKS TO EUROPE

ever and much more secure. Purged and purified of the evil and rotten elements which marred but could not destroy her loveliness, Paris today enters upon the most brilliant era which she has known even in her long and dazzling history.

It has been the lot of Paris to make history and her liberation today is indeed a historic milestone in the downfall of the Third Reich, the Reich which reached the pinnacle of its murky fame when Paris fell to its goose-stepping hordes four years ago. It is a milestone but not the end of the road, the road which leads all the way to Berlin. For a moment we pause to hail the liberation of Paris, but only for a moment. Stern tasks are ahead before the power of that monstrous machine which for so long threatened to throttle the life and soul out of Paris and all that for which she stood is finally shattered.

We go forward with a new zest to those tasks, side by side with the resurrected French nation in all its pristine greatness.

The French Army is in the battle line again, and France's Allies will fight all the better for the knowledge of it, and for the knowledge that the heart of France is once more beating freely and steadily and pumping the life-blood into the great people without whom this civilisation of ours could never be restored.

Paris is free, French and fighting again. The thought of it is a bugle call and a banner to all our fighting and working people.



PART 2

The British People

· our institutions

our place in the world

and

what we are fighting for



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Magna Carta and the war against the Nazis

JUNE 15, 1941

Seven hundred and twenty-six years ago today, leaders of the English people exacted from the arbitrary Norman monarch John, the Great Charter which has been the foundation of the liberties they have since enjoyed and which they spread – and will spread again – throughout the world.

Seven hundred and twenty-six years ago, it became certain that England would fight Nazi Germany unless England was prepared to renounce her heritage.

In the interval the English had a few practice fights with other tyrannical and arbitrary Powers, and they entered the lists against the

latest and most malignant despot with a useful experience of dealing faithfully with enemies of liberty.

It can be broadly stated that the English have always fought for the same thing and always *will* fight for it – the fundamental principle established when King John was forced to put his signature to Magna Carta on June 15, 1215.

John was the first to experience what an American has called :–

‘the sullen might

of the English standing upon a right.’

Yes, Magna Carta established a right – one without which life is just not worth living.

This is the right it established:

No-one can ‘be seized or imprisoned, or dispossessed or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no man can right or justice be *sold, denied or delayed.*’

Magna Carta, in fact, established a principle which to most ordinary men and women is good enough as a war aim today.

It is just this – the creation of a state of affairs satisfying the one fundamental desire common to every human being, but entirely absent from the Nazi system. I mean the freedom of the individual from arbitrary rule, and the liberty of the plain man to ‘get his rights’ – even against the State if the State acts against the law.

The victory of Britain and her Allies will guarantee that all peoples shall be free to organise themselves in such a way that, no matter what form their government may take, it will be impossible for a thug or a gang of thugs to impose on them by force the arbitrary rule of the secret police, under which no man can get justice.

A British victory offers the fulfilment of the fundamental and most passionate desire of the common man, the claim to ‘a fair do’ without fear or favour.

Believe me, it is the simple ideas which start great movements, and the restatements of eternal and universal truths which are the far most attractive and revolutionary novelties in a world that has gone astray.

Magna Carta enshrined just such a simple idea, and for the man in the street it provided a war aim for which he has fought victoriously ever since, and for which he is now again fighting victoriously.

The unconquerable English

JUNE 24, 1941

I, who am speaking to you tonight, am supposed to be a member of a decadent plutocratic nation. According to the Germans, I am either

one of an immensely rich clique of capitalists (descended either from the Norman Barons or from Moses) or, on the other hand I am one of a vast mass of dispossessed wage slaves.

Well, I'm not; I happen to be that type of citizen which forms the most enduring and most solid element in the English nation. That is to say, I belong to that great mass of citizens who are neither economically enslaved nor parasites on society.

Some of my forbears rose from labourers and peasants and some of them descended (gracefully, I hope) from the ranks of the aristocrats and rich merchants.

And here I am, one of a vast army of independent, individualistic, self-respecting and reasonably solid citizens. I am not grossly rich and I am not desperately poor. I, and my fellows, are grimly determined not to submit to the Nazi New Order, under which, if we were dishonest and corrupt enough, we might become members of the New Plutocracy, or, if we couldn't get in with the ruling gang, we should sink to the level of human cattle, fed, tended and housed just so that we could slave for our betters.

You see, we have been looking at the New Order in Europe and we have seen that the Nazis, who climbed to power on promises to the Little Man, have in fact destroyed him. In Europe today we see, on the one hand, a favoured few (Nazi party members, officers, industrialists, financiers, police bosses and Quislings) who live well – eat well, dress well and amuse themselves. On the other hand we see the vast masses of the people of Europe, dragooned, half-starved, overworked, ill-clothed and without the time, money or opportunity for any real leisure, recreation or amusement.

There will be nothing in between under the New Plutocracy.

So it's quite easy to see why I and the vast army of my fellow-citizens will die rather than submit to the New Order.

The Nazis sneer at us, but let them remember this: through history it has been the nation which has avoided extremes of wealth and poverty but has built up a population of progressive, independent-minded and enterprising citizens – that has always come out on top. The Nazis hate us because they fear us.

They have cause to fear us because we stand for the forces which are defeating them – sturdy determination not to be bullied or intimidated, honest refusal to be corrupted and steadfast faith in the future.

Complete inability even to contemplate defeat is the hall-mark of the English nation, which stands united in an unbreakable front. It is unconquerable and knows it – it is unconquerable because it knows it.

European civilization was not murdered in its sleep

AUGUST 31, 1941

Hitler, in spite of conciliation on the part of the British, French and Polish Governments, carried beyond all reasonable limits, was resolved by midnight two years ago to press the button setting into motion the vilest terror machine in the world's history

Was it really such a disaster that Hitler's finger itched so badly to press the button that he abandoned his highly successful policy of blackmail and corruption and embarked on open war? True, he shattered the peace of Europe but he also smashed the illusions and complacency which were carrying the continent to its doom.

European civilisation had been passing *peacefully* away for years. Its existence might have drawn *peacefully* to a close in another year or two had not Hitler broken the so-called peace and, by breaking it, awakened European civilisation from its trance.

I know a great many of us here in England experienced a feeling of immense exhilaration and relief when on the night of August 31, 1939, we realised that war was now inevitable. We hadn't enjoyed the peace so much, the peace in which Hitler had been left to carry out his devilries in the concentration camps, to bring the Austrians and Czechs under the Gestapo rule, to destroy the freedom and self-government of the Spaniards and experiment on their women and children in the technique of total war.

We felt that another year or two of that kind of peace and we ourselves would lose our manhood and pass peacefully under Fascist rule.

And so, on the last night of the summer of 1939, in the hush that preceded the breaking of the gigantic storm now sweeping the world, we felt glad that now we should be able to strike a blow against the infamies we had been compelled for so long to condone.

This time they would have to let us fight. We knew we hadn't many aeroplanes or guns and we believed that we should be bombed to blazes. But it seemed better to die than to stand by while the world in which our sons would have to live was corrupted and debauched and made safe for Fascism.

Admittedly the apparent abandonment by Russia of the common cause of civilised people was depressing, but we felt even then that this could not be final and irrevocable. It was going to be hard to keep this faith and many of us wavered but we clung to the belief that sooner or later the war would shock the Russian people into acceptance of their true destiny.

And tonight, on August 31st, 1941, we can see that all is well. Terror and perhaps death awaits us but civilisation will not die, for a culture

and tradition such as that of the European family is too strong to be destroyed while waking. It could only be done to death while it slumbered. When Hitler wrote the order to march two years ago tonight he lost his chance of murdering European civilisation in its sleep.

We shall interfere in Europe

OCTOBER 4, 1941

I don't want to bandy words with Hitler. I'm rather particular about whom I argue with, but I do want to say just one thing about his speech on Friday.

He said then that it was not the British people who refused to collaborate with him and rejected his outstretched hand but only certain warmongers in authority in Britain.

That is a lie.

The British people watched their Government's attempts to come to terms with Hitler with great uneasiness always and sometimes with disgust.

We hated Hitlerism from the start. Years before our Government decided that we should have to fight for our self-preservation we, the British people, hoped we should be allowed to fight for justice and common decency.

British Governments were guiltless of Hitler's accusation that they desired to interfere in Europe. They washed their hands of Europe's affairs, let Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia be crucified and allowed the crucifixion of the rest of Europe to be prepared at leisure.

But we, the British people, were guilty of the crime of wishing to interfere in Europe, to succour the oppressed and cast down the tyrant. And that is a crime of which we are still guilty and of which we shall continue to be guilty.

Britain will interfere in Europe until Hitler is overthrown with all his accomplices in every land – and after. We shall continue to interfere in Europe until we are sure that every man, woman and child is assured of as square a deal as we get in this country. And then we shall go on interfering until everyone in Europe gets the squarer deal still which we, the British People, intend to get in the future.

The Germans, who squealed about our interference in Europe when we refused to shake a hand already dripping with the blood of thousands of defenceless men and women, will have something really to squeal about when we do start interfering.

For generations the Germans have had their way in Europe, and we have let them strut and bully to their heart's content. We interfered

once 27 years ago, but after four years of interference we stopped interfering. And to-day we see the results. We shan't make that mistake again.

To adapt Adolf Hitler's famous words: 'Don't be impatient, Europe, we are coming.'

And we shall come to stay. The Germans will for the first time learn what interference means. One day they will thank us for it.

The free parliaments challenge Hitler

NOVEMBER 13, 1941

'We are fighting for parliamentary institutions. Let it not be said that they are being maintained in this country in a farcical or unreal manner.'

So said our Prime Minister yesterday, and today the House of Commons, that ancient institution which has guarded our destinies through so many centuries and so many perils, was the scene of a spirited discussion between those who believe that the Government is winning this war as fast as is possible and those who consider that the victory would be won more swiftly if certain things were done.

It was the start of the outstanding debate of the year, the debate on the loyal address to be presented to the King in reply to his speech from the Throne opening the new session yesterday. In Churchill's words, 'the Grand Inquest of the nation.'

The Members of Parliament, who have been back in their constituencies listening to the opinions of the voters of all classes and political complexion, have come back to voice those views in the House of Commons.

The People is speaking in Westminster this week and, although its representatives differ – and differ pretty strongly on the best way to end the war – they speak with one great united voice on the main question. There is not the slightest divergence in determination to go on to the end whatever it entails, and end this conflict forced upon us only with the complete destruction of the German war machine.

The single-mindedness of that resolve is preserved intact despite the worries and troubles, the discontents and grievances which are bound to exist in any human society – particularly in wartime – and it is preserved intact largely because the grievances and discontents, the worries and troubles are ventilated in the open air, in the free atmosphere of parliamentary discussion.

That is why we are so strong. That is why all the might of a great war machine prepared for years for our destruction cannot destroy us although we were unprepared.

' Nothing could have compelled us to enter this war or to continue it had we not, as a united people, desired passionately to smash the evil forces which plotted the downfall of the civilisation we did so much to build. And nothing could compel us to stop fighting now, save actual annihilation.

When a free people resolves to go to war it goes on to the end. As Churchill said, 'unyielding, persevering, indomitable, the House of Commons will play its part in the overthrow of another Continental tyranny as in the olden times.'

And across the Atlantic, in the New World which has nourished the offshoots of our Parliamentary institutions another great free people has tonight, through its elected representatives, resolved to go on to the end, whatever the price, until the force that threatens its heritage of liberty are overthrown.

After full and open debate the United States Congress, the American People, has resolved to send its merchant ships, armed, and its warships into any sea in the world and into any port.

It is the supreme challenge to Hitler and been made as a result of a debate in the American Parliament.

Cripps on the world we are fighting for

MAY 3, 1942

Cripps has given form and substance and a more definitely forward-looking character to the principles already laid down, very generally, in the Atlantic Charter. He has, in fact, given a firm outline for the first time to the world which we are fighting *for*. Hitherto the emphasis has always been on what we are fighting *against*.

He has made it clear that Britain will certainly not be satisfied merely to destroy Hitlerism and then return to the old system of power politics in the international sphere and economic confusion and social injustice at home.

But, while he declared that individual states must in some respects subordinate their interests to those of a wider community of nations, and individual citizens must submit to the interests of the nation as a whole, he insisted at the same time on the personal and human values of each individual in the State and therefore on the importance of that collection of personal and human values which makes up the nation within the wider framework of the international community.

Human beings are not to become mere robots, cogs in a State mechanism; and national cultures and traditions are not to be crushed under an international uniformity.

The supreme heritage of our civilisation, the dignity of the individual, is not only to be preserved but increased by extending it to all citizens instead of a few favoured ones, and the rich diversity of the national cultures which have contributed to the progress of mankind are to be given full scope for the development of their particular genius.

Conscious planning there is to be, but planning which does not treat a man as a soulless fragment of an economic jigsaw puzzle and a nation as simply a market or a source of raw materials.

Humanity and not material interests are to rule men's lives.

Cripps proclaimed his belief that a new spirit of equality and freedom has been begotten by this war and that this spirit is at one and the same time the key to the double victory on which we are resolved, victory in the field over the embattled enemies of freedom and equality and in the peace, victory over the forces of reaction

What the ordinary man wants

MAY 19, 1942

We have had a fair spate of news by important people on what shape this world of ours shall take after the war.

But perhaps listeners in Europe will be even more interested to hear some of the opinions of the ordinary men in the street, who will, in fact, have the last word in deciding what kind of a world will emerge.

Many of them are in the armed services and so I'll give you some extracts from two pamphlets just published in London – one a letter to his Member of Parliament from an R.A.F. pilot who is now a prisoner of war, and the other from a soldier in the Royal Engineers.

The pilot wrote: 'For this I would die. I want my wife to enjoy greater freedom from care, and worry, from work and drudgery.

'In peace time, men do not want community kitchens or community restaurants.

'They want their wives to cook their meals, and they want to sit down to meals with their family.

'I want the freedom and happiness of a home and garden, and I want my friends to share that freedom and happiness.'

The soldier, who calls his pamphlet 'A Soldier's New World,' writes that he is afraid that people may after the war leave the rebuilding of the world to what he describes as the Clever Ones and that then the Old England that he loved without knowing he loved it, will be destroyed before he has time to protest.

This soldier doesn't want, any more than his comrade in the R.A.F., to become a mere unit in a mass, a citizen of that 'mass democracy'

which we have lately been promised as an improvement on the liberal and individualistic democracy which we were developing with some success and a good deal of happiness until Germany's war on the world, which began in 1914, interrupted our steady progress.

This soldier doesn't want to die either for a community kitchen life for his family. He wants security and an economic justice but not at the price of having someone plan all the joy and variety out of his life.

'The centre of any good world,' he writes, 'is our own home and our own family. The test of any political system, of any monetary system, of any religious philosophy is its effect upon the homes of the people (not the *masses*, you'll notice) and upon family life.'

This soldier also wants to have more access to art and culture. He wants to know about good music, fine pictures and splendid literature, those things which don't somehow come into the plans for a mass democracy.

As for international affairs, this soldier says this simple thing:

'The Rule of Law, and law backed in the last resort by force, is as essential for nations as for men.'

And he concludes with the wise advice:

'Let our statesmen and our voters have their eyes fixed firm enough on what is wanted and they will achieve it.'

Are we Nazis?

MAY 30, 1942

The Nazis are getting worried about many things, the land war on the Eastern Front, the air war in the west and the war at sea, for instance, but it appears that what's worrying them particularly at the moment is the war of ideas, which is also going badly for them.

They are afraid that the kind of things we are fighting for, a square deal for the Little Man all over the world, equality of opportunity, freedom of speech and freedom of worship, economic security, social justice and plenty to eat and drink for everyone, will make the German people think that perhaps it wouldn't be a bad thing to stop the senseless slaughter, get rid of the Nazis and settle down to a decent, sane, prosperous and free life.

So the Nazis have put Goebbels up to say that all these things for which we are fighting are stolen from the Nazi programme, and that we are now simply adopting the social philosophy of National-Socialism . . .

Goebbels accuses us, the common people of Britain, of wanting the kind of things the Nazis offer. Well, perhaps we do want some of the things the Nazis promised long ago, but we assuredly do not want either

the Nazis' methods or the results of those promises. Furthermore, there are certain things which we treasure and intend to preserve which Hitler has not even pretended to offer, but has openly attacked, that is to say freedom of the mind and spirit – a freedom far more vital than the freedom of the flesh achieved by mere economic security.

We have, as Goebbels says, departed a good deal from the ideas and motives which guided us between 1931 and 1939. We have really and genuinely – and not only ostensibly, as he suggests – thrown over Imperialism and Capitalism, but we have not, for that reason, become Nazis or Fascists.

No, indeed, we have returned to our true heritage of radical democracy inspired by a moral principle of which Goebbels and his kind have no comprehension.

That moral principle, which brought us into this war and directs our will to win it, distinguishes us and those who stand with us utterly from the Nazis and those whose only quarrel with them is that *they* want to be the Gauleiters. That moral principle makes us reject Goebbels' thesis that this is just a war for bread, a plentiful breakfast, lunch and dinner table, for rubber and oil, iron and ore – for materials.

That moral principle made the British people reject with scorn the offer – again tentatively held out to us by Goebbels – of combining with the Nazis to exploit the world for our joint material welfare.

I can say this, on behalf of the British People, that each one of us would be infinitely gladder to grasp the toil-worn, shrivelled hand of some Jewish victim of the Nazis and share his misery and material wretchedness – and his spiritual glory and moral grandeur – than to sit down at Goebbel's plentifully laden breakfast, lunch or dinner table.

Paddy Finucane

JULY 18, 1942

It's now been confirmed, against all our hopes, that Wing-Commander Paddy Finucane is dead.

Well, I expect you know a good deal about him, how he was at the age of 21 the youngest man of his rank in the Royal Air Force, how he had himself shot down at least 32 German aircraft, and how he had come to be for us a symbol of the gallant and daring young fighter pilots to whose skill and courage we owe the fact that we were not conquered in 1940.

Churchill said then: 'Never has so much been owed by so many to so few.' Finucane was one of those few, who saved modern civilisation when it was within a hairsbreadth of being smashed by an ancient

tyranny which would, had it not been for those young British airmen, indeed have imposed its harsh dominion upon the world for a thousand years.

Fighter Pilot of the Royal Air Force! That was what Finucane was. One of the very best. There could be no prouder title. I believe that among all the brave young men of enslaved Europe who are fighting the Nazis by all means in their power, Finucane's is a name which will live because, like the young men of Europe, he met his fate calmly and without fear.

'This is it' he said over his wireless when he realised that it was the end for him.

Just like the young Frenchman, Belgian, Czech, Netherlander, Norwegian, Pole, Yugoslav or Greek who goes to his execution happy and serene in the knowledge that his life will not have been given in vain, Finucane went to his death without any fuss and satisfied in the knowledge that his performance and example had contributed greatly to the cause to which he had given himself.

Two things interest me particularly about Finucane. First, he was an Irishman, that is a citizen of a country which has declared itself neutral in this war but many, many thousands of whose citizens have refused to be impartial in a conflict between good and evil and are fighting today with us; secondly, that he joined the Royal Air Force in 1938, when the men who were supposed to know all about international affairs were busy making bargains with Hitler on the false and absurd assumption that it was possible to make terms with the Fuehrer of the Third Reich.

Finucane was only one of many thousands of our young men who knew better than that. Thank God for them! They joined the armed forces and got ready. It wasn't their fault that the weapons weren't ready for them.

We mourn him. We shall honour him. I hope you in Europe will, too. He died and fought for you as well as for us.

Sailors' Sunday

JULY 19, 1942

It's difficult to find the words to express what we in Britain feel about our sailors. We've felt like it about them for so long, for so many generations that we hardly ever give expression to our feeling. We take it for granted.

And so, although the sea, and its ships and sailors, are all the time in our thoughts, we only think consciously about them now and again, rather rarely.

Today was one of the rare occasions. It has been set aside as sailors' Sunday and all over the country special services have been held in the churches to intercede with God for those in peril on the sea, in peril greater than any generation of British sailors had to face before; the Germans, novices at sea and not of its great fraternity, brought to salt water the bestial and treacherous methods which they have so long practised on land.

Great indeed is their peril, or, to put it in their own idiom, as one of theirs is reported to have said recently to King George, 'to tell you the truth, Sir, the seamen are having a hell of a bloody time.' Yes, their peril is great, but so is their faith. For centuries our sailors have fought against all comers for a man's right to own his liberty and to worship his God in his own way. From the time of Queen Elizabeth, the seamen have been stalwart champions of the freedom of the individual and freedom of conscience against totalitarianism of all kinds.

When you come to think of it, the nation rules its affairs very much in the way of a typical ship's company – with acceptance of absolute discipline under the skipper's authority when the ship is battling with a storm but with no surrender whatsoever of a free man's rights. Perhaps we have, as a nation, been a bit too inclined to follow the sailor's habit of going on the spree and having a good time when the ship is safe in port but at least we've always recovered in time to stop the ship from foundering when the storm hit her again.

Well, we're in the greatest tempest today that we have ever had to weather, but the British sailor and his comrades of the Allied nations who go down to the sea in ships will keep the battered barque of European civilisation afloat until the Nazi hurricane has blown itself out and the sun breaks through the clouds again.

So let the peoples of Europe, whether they live by the sea or not, pay a tribute in their hearts tonight to the undaunted seamen of the free nations at whose horny hands they will in the last resort receive their liberation.

France and the Anglo-Soviet Alliance

DECEMBER 28, 1942

It's just a year ago that the talks concluded in Moscow between Stalin and Eden and a joint declaration was issued pledging Great Britain and the Soviet Union to full co-operation in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and the establishment after the war of a secure peace in which any repetition of German aggression will be impossible.

The two nations with worldwide interests, so long aloof from Europe

and estranged from each other, announced that together they intended to play a full and responsible part in the establishment of European peace. Certainly that was an historic day, when, with the German Army already reeling back from Moscow in its first major defeat of the war, the first foundations were laid for the alliance between the people who stopped the German war machine in the west almost at the gates of London and the people who stopped the German war machine in the East at the approaches to *their* capital.

There has never been the slightest doubt that this alliance is firmly rooted in the feelings of the people of this country and of the Soviet Union

In the year that has passed since Eden's visit to Moscow, we have gone a long way towards fulfilling the first part of our joint pledge – the destruction of Hitlerite Germany, and plans are already advanced for fulfilling the second part, the concerting of measures to prevent a repetition of German aggression.

But Britain and the Soviet Union cannot alone guarantee the peace and security of Europe. They need the help of all the European nations – not the least of France – France without whom no European system can prosper.

The people of Britain welcome their new ally, the Soviet Union, but they do not forget their old ally, France, and they will welcome and applaud the declaration tonight by General de Gaulle that he, and the Frenchmen who have stood side by side with Britain throughout the darkest days of this war, desire above all things to join forces with those Frenchmen who have taken up arms again under Gen. Giraud so that all, with their disarmed comrades in France itself, may take part in the victory and, as a great and united nation under a government chosen by the French people, play their full part in the reconstruction of Europe.

As 1941 ended with the laying of the foundations of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance so 1942 is ending with the resurrection of the Anglo-French Alliance. This new Triple Entente will form a strong framework for the system of European security in which all nations which have not been guilty of aggression, and eventually those which are prepared in future to renounce it, can take an honourable share.

The revival of Liberalism

FEBRUARY 15, 1943

It may seem paradoxical, unnatural and perverse, but it is the simple fact that the London newspapers today devoted more editorial atten-

tion to a discussion of plans and problems in the post-war world than to the tremendous victories of the Red Army – although, of course, it was the fall of Rostov and Voroshilovgrad which got the big headlines.

The view taken by the ordinary citizen is that the plans for winning the war have been well and truly laid, are in process of execution and will be carried out with all the more vigour and enthusiasm by the workers and fighters if a clear indication is forthcoming that the victory, which no one now doubts, will be worth while.

The average citizen is well enough aware that defeat of the Germans, Italians and Japanese will not automatically usher in a golden age. But he has a pretty firm conviction that the obstacles to the construction of a sane and decent world can be overcome provided they are recognised and tackled vigorously. And so the ordinary citizen of Britain, believing that bold and determined action depends on clear thinking and that clear thinking depends on free discussion, likes very much to read or listen to the views of those who are qualified to make articulate the thoughts and feelings of which he is conscious but which he finds difficult to express.

He has no patience with those who say that argument and disputation are a sign or a cause of disunity. He endorses very fully the statement in the editorial in today's *Times* that no statesman can work in the world save with the moral force that his own countrymen lend him and that that moral force is to be derived only from a unity based on freedom. The ordinary citizen realises well enough the truth of the statement that to make freedom the binding force of society is the hard way to unity and that it is much easier to impose unity by the force of authority. But he knows well enough also that artificial unity of such a kind does not last and cannot surmount adversity and difficulties. The only form of unity fit to wed with liberty is called fraternity (to quote the *Times* once more) and it might well be added that the only sure foundation for fraternity is the third of the famous French trilogy, equality, between nations as well as between individuals – not equality in size, strength and resources, which is as impossible between individuals as it is patently non-existent between nations – but equality of opportunity, equality of access to the good things of the world and equality, above all, before the law.

Given equality of this kind, the liberty which it guarantees and the fraternity and unity which spring from it, the average citizen of Britain is confident enough of the ability of the peoples of the world to overcome all the problems which will beset their path in the years ahead.

Some people may be inclined to say that it is very easy and very unrealistic to talk in such a way from the relative security and comfort of this island and that the peoples of Europe who are now under the Nazi harrow have moved far from such old-fashioned liberal conceptions as democracy, liberty and equality.

I have never believed that. I have always believed that the experiences of the oppressed peoples must serve to revive the vigour of all conceptions and ideals of fundamental and permanent value, and that the main principles on which our civilisation has been built must emerge strongest in those very countries in which they have been most outraged.

Some support at least for this belief is forthcoming in an article in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* by a writer who has made a close study of developments in Norway. This is what he says:

'Norway is experiencing a revival of Liberalism. The values for which Norway has been struggling during the dark years of occupation are the same values for which Liberalism has always fought. A free press, independent lawcourts, free research, religious freedom, no imprisonment without trial, freedom of commerce and freedom of assembly – all liberal ideas – have become vital for the Norwegian people. There is a strong opposition against too many encroachments by the state. The Quisling system has shown the danger of the state getting too great a power. English democracy is experiencing a renaissance which will undoubtedly have consequences for the constitutional development of Norway.'

Using the term Liberalism not as a narrow political dogma and still less as an economic doctrine, but as a general description of what the ordinary man and woman really wants, I am willing to wager that what that writer said about the Norwegians is true of all peoples.

It should be, after all, for the name given by Hitler and his imitators to all that they hate and fear most and all they have striven hardest to destroy is just that – Liberalism. And that should be a pretty good rough guide.

Providence moves in a mysterious way. One day it may be recognised that Hitler and his accomplices were inflicted upon the world to revive a flagging faith in the principles upon which the salvation of humanity must ultimately depend.

Churchill on the post-war world

MARCH 22, 1943

Winston Churchill's broadcast last night on the British conception of the future world and European revival, and Britain's own plans for fitting herself to play a leading part in its achievement, was, above all, a great call to battle. Delivered at the moment when British, American and French armies are opening in Tunisia one of the decisive battles of the war and when the peoples of the unarmed and occupied countries

are being subjected to a supreme ordeal by Hitler's man-hunt, the Prime Minister's speech was a resounding pledge and guarantee that the battle and its sacrifices will not be in vain . . .

On the kind of Britain that emerges from this war will depend no little the kind of Europe that arises : unless Britain, true to the traditions and political maturity which have made her great, undertakes the reforms which will keep her great in the new conditions of this century, then there can be no real security and prosperity for the rest of Europe.

And unless the rest of Europe, including the Soviet Union and in collaboration with the United States, co-operates in freely organising itself politically and economically in such a way as to guarantee military security, political stability and economic prosperity on a basis of liberty, tolerance and justice, then there can be no real security or prosperity for Britain.

Throughout his speech, whether dealing with the international machinery of post-war Europe or the domestic organisation of Britain, Churchill affirmed his faith in what may be termed the middle way, that blend of tradition and novelty, that amalgam between the well-proved experience of the past, the lessons of the present and intelligent anticipation of the future which is the secret of ordered progress.

For Britain he foresaw, for instance, a partnership between the private enterprise which has served us well in the past and the State enterprise which has become and will become increasingly important. He also foresaw a partnership between more elastic and novel currency arrangements and the orthodox finance of pounds, shillings and pence which enables the investor in Government bonds to count on seeing his money back.

And he expressed the opinion of the overwhelming mass of the British people when he declared :

'All wisdom is not new wisdom and the past should be studied if the future is to be successfully encountered.

'To quote Disraeli in one of his most pregnant sayings: "Nations are governed by force or by tradition." In moving steadily and steadfastly from a class to a national foundation in the politics and economics of our society and civilisation, we must not forget the glories of the past, nor how many battles we have fought for the rights of the individual and for human freedom.

'We must beware of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything except a politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no reward and thrift no privileges. I say "trying to build" because of all races in the world, our people would be the last to consent to be governed by a bureaucracy. Freedom is their life blood. These two great wars, scourging and harrowing men's souls, have made the British nation master in its own house.'

For Europe as a whole Churchill saw as the post-war solution a balance between new international machinery and the preservation of the individual characteristics and traditions of its various nations. Just as the glory of Britain is to be in the harmonising of the rights and dignity of the individual with the demands of the community through the machinery of a truly self-governing State, given by the people the new powers necessary for government in this new age, so the glory of Europe is to be in the harmonising of the rights and dignity of the individual State with the demands of the community of nations, through the machinery of a truly self-governing Council of Europe, given by the nations the new powers necessary in this new age.

In short, for Britain and for Europe of which she is part, Churchill offers as the means of establishing security, prosperity, happiness and progress, a sane balance between individualism and collectivism, between nationalism and universalism, between what is good in the past and the improvements which can be made on that past – all founded on basic principles of law, liberty and representative institutions in the international, as well as in the national, sphere.

In Churchill's speech there was the promise that when the foul fungus of Fascism is death, dust and ashes, European civilisation will blossom again from its ancient but vigorous roots and will put forth new blooms more beautiful than any of the past.

The British Nation awakes

OCTOBER 1, 1943

The more one gets about and talks to men and women – and even children – in Britain today the more one realises, if one has anything of a memory at all, what a vast change has come over the people of this country in the last four years. It's not only that nearly all of us are working much harder, eating a bit less, travelling a great deal less, having much fewer and shorter holidays and a lot less fun generally. It's something much more than that. There's a new alertness, a new sanity and sense of true values, a clear-sightedness and realism combined with a lively and unashamed idealism, all of which was woefully absent in those dreadful ten years or so which led up to the war.

It is as if this British nation had awakened from sleep – or rather from a drugged stupor – and regained the vitality and vision which their ancestors possessed and which made us great.

I don't think many people over here even realise what has happened to them, and I'm pretty sure that very few people on the continent understand properly how completely the British people have been able

to shake off the torpor, apathy and timidity which, so foreign to their true nature, descended on them like a blight in the 30's.

Certainly there is one man on the continent who appears to think that the real Britain was the Britain of Munich and that the deeds and words of British leaders of that time represented the considered judgment of the people here.

This man is Karl Hermann Frank, Hitler's chief tool in Prague, and he has written a newspaper article, a translation of which I have just been reading, in which he defends the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the enslavement of the Czechs on the grounds that certain British statesmen – so-called and British publicists of a kind – declared at the time of the Munich sell-out to the Nazis that Czechoslovakia was an unnatural creation, had treated the German minority badly, was a chauvinistic and semi-Bolshevik State which was trying to invoke France and Britain in war, had no right to exist and was properly partitioned.

I don't know whether the men and journals whom Frank names as having expressed this view will thank him for having reminded the world of the specious arguments with which they attempted to salve their consciences for the cowardly connivance in the murder of a small, brave, decent and democratic State by the Nazi monster.

But I do know that the people of this country as a whole and the leaders whom they follow in complete unity never shamed their country or their own intelligence by such an attitude. The present Prime Minister, who had warned the world repeatedly of Germany's plans for war, denounced Munich in the roundest terms and it was at that moment that Britain woke up and Churchill secured the hold on the affection and respect of the ordinary citizens which swept him into office with the outbreak of war and into the Premiership nine months later.

Frank no doubt hopes to achieve two things by recalling the statements of Britons who approved of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. He wishes at one and the same time to destroy the friendship between the British and the Czechs which has been renewed and re-invigorated in the ordeal of common suffering and sacrifice and he wishes, by enlisting the support of eminent Britons, to strengthen the claims of a defeated Germany to retain the Czech territory which is so essential to the Reich for a third attempt at world domination.

But, as I said, the Britain of today bears no resemblance to the Britain of the 30's even if a few among us are still living in that shabby decade. The British people today can see clearly again and one thing they can see is that the restoration of the democratic Czechoslovak Republic is essential to the peace of Europe, so that those lands, which Bismarck described almost but not quite correctly as the guarantees to any strong Power of the mastery of Europe, shall not again fall into

Germany's clutches.

Munich is dead and so is the Britain which tolerated it. That Britain was never really alive. It was a shady ghost of a people which for a moment lost its soul but has found it again.

British 'Propaganda'

NOVEMBER 14, 1943

The thing that struck me most when I read Hitler's recent speech was his acknowledgment of the enormous influence upon the world and on Europe in particular of the ideas for which Britain, with only occasional and brief lapses, has always stood throughout her long history.

This is what Hitler said: 'This small British island resorted at the beginning of and during the first world war to the hackneyed and moralising phrases which had served England in each of her wars – the "fight for the freedom of small nations, the fight for the reorganisation of the world under the banner of justice, the fight for democracy, the fight for the equality of all races" and so forth in high-sounding phrases. One thing is certain, that in this war, too, England was again the driving force, that, together with the Jews, she combined cause, initiation and leadership of this war, and this is nothing but a repetition of what happened in the First World War.'

Now, in spite of the stock phrases about the Jews and the automatic and inevitable suggestion that our hackneyed and moralising phrases are sheer hypocrisy, Hitler was making an angry, bitter and envious admission of the fact that Britain has been able to secure as allies nearly all the small nations of Europe – who look to her for their freedom and without fear of domination – and that Britain is able by the mere force of her ideas to undermine the willingness to continue the war against the cause which she represents, among those small satellite nations which have hitherto been duped by the Nazis and their own treacherous leaders, and even among the German people themselves.

The Nazis describe this projection of British political, social and moral ideology as lying propaganda and they are constantly admitting that it is among the most dangerous weapons employed against them.

It is perhaps the fact that Britain, by radio, was able to speak to the peoples of Europe in this sense even during the darkest hour, for Britain as well as for them, which was most responsible for the refusal of those peoples to believe for more than a brief period of panic and despair in the possibility of the defeat by Nazi Germany of Britain and what she stands for.

We, in this country, could never imagine defeat simply because we knew what we fought for and were absolutely unable to believe that that cause could go down.

This is not only a faith which wins wars, and has won every war in which Britain has been engaged in defence of it, but it is one which also can keep the peace.

To make this political faith in liberty, justice and equality the living inspiration of world co-operation for peace and prosperity is a tremendous task facing the statesmen, orators, pressmen and broadcasters of all nations.

Reconstruction and the release of Mosley

NOVEMBER 24, 1943

It is a significant indication of the stage which we have reached in this supreme crisis in human history which some call the Second German War and others the World War of Liberation, that the news is now almost as much of *construction* as of *destruction*.

What is happening to Berlin is convincing enough evidence that the destruction of the German war machine is proceeding apace and that certainly is regarded with satisfaction by all of us since we are eager to get this war over as quickly as possible. But there are probably none of us, if we stop to think, who are not at heart sorry that this terrible work of destruction, which cannot possibly be entirely restricted to the war-machine and the guilty men who fashioned it and wield it, has had to be carried out; and there are certainly few who do not turn with relief from the grim recital of what total war really means when waged by Powers vastly stronger than the Power which invented it, to the abundant evidence that, side by side with this necessary destructive work, bold and enlightened plans are going forward for the construction on the ruins of Fascism of a new order of law, social progress, tolerance, liberty and international co-operation.

The King's speech to the British House of Commons today outlines a pretty comprehensive programme of social legislation to be undertaken in the new session of Parliament. It includes an enlarged and unified system of social insurance; a more comprehensive health service; a new scheme of workmen's compensation; special powers for the replanning of bombed or overcrowded areas; reconstruction of the national system of education and provision for the training and employment of ex-servicemen and disabled persons.

And it would be quite wrong to imagine that this is of interest for us in Britain alone. It is of very great importance for everyone in the

world for it is an assurance of two vital things: first it shows that the destructive work that has been forced upon us has not formed a habit of mind and turned us away from creative and constructive thinking but has, on the contrary, revived and re-stimulated the urge for progress which was moribund in the years before the war; and secondly it shows that Britain is resolved to put her own house in order so that she shall not only have the right but also the capacity to play a leading part in the reconstruction of Europe and the world.

It has long been clear that foreign policy and domestic policy cannot be kept in separate compartments. No country whose social conditions at home are non-progressive can be trusted to pursue an enlightened and progressive policy abroad and nor can such a country possess either the moral prestige or the material strength to sustain a leading role in international affairs.

That Britain should be taking now practical steps towards social advance at home is therefore of international importance.

Britain has also given another remarkable manifestation of the reassuring fact that she has not, through being compelled to fight Fascism with its own weapons of total war, become contaminated by the spirit of Fascism – as many feared might happen. The release of Mosley, the leader of the small group of British Fascists, has led to a heated dispute here in which both sides have by different means demonstrated that the nation is not only solidly but fiercely hostile to Fascism in all its forms. Those who have condemned the conditional release of Mosley are those who are so violently anti-Fascist that the only thing they can see was a Fascist let out of gaol and they just didn't like it. Those who defend the Government's decision are those who have thought a bit deeper and further and are glad to see any step taken which reaffirms the essentially anti-Fascist principle of British justice – that there shall be no arbitrary imprisonment without trial – a principle which was only suspended, and then with some opposition, in the gravest national emergency.

As to whether Mosley should have been released in the manner chosen is a domestic issue for Britons to debate. For the outside world the dispute merely proves that the British both hate Fascists and dislike anything which savours of Fascist methods – even when employed against Fascists.

Putting our house in order

FEBRUARY 1, 1944

Here, in Britain, we are turning our thoughts increasingly to ways and means of fitting ourselves to play in Europe and the world the great role

to which, I think, we are entitled by our history, to which our right will be confirmed by our victory and which, in any case, we are resolved to play.

Don't let it be thought that we are in any way forgetting that great battles have still to be fought. We're not forgetting that; but the time and place of the final assault are now set, the men and the weapons are being assembled, the plans are complete, the die is cast and the great mass of the people have no need to worry about the outcome of the struggle

What we are now getting down to discuss and plan is how this British nation, and its kindred in the British Commonwealth of Nations, can prepare themselves to shoulder the heavy responsibilities which will be theirs. Obviously, that can be done only if we set our own house in order and there is general agreement that it needs setting in order.

The parliamentary system under which Britain has lived for two-and-a-half centuries has for all that time guaranteed us a great degree of representative government, becoming more representative as the years passed ; it has given us freedom of speech, thought and conscience and, though it has not always secured all of us freedom from want and has not granted us freedom from danger in a world beset by militarists, tyrants and dictators, it has vouchsafed us freedom from fear – for it has built us into a great, stable and united nation which has not had to be afraid of the future, however dark the clouds ahead.

The essence of this parliamentary system's success – and it has succeeded in getting us through two world wars in this century – the essence of it has been its flexibility and capacity to keep pace with the times. It has undergone constant minor alterations and, periodically, some major changes, such as the Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, 1882 and 1919. Now, as it is 25 years since the last big reform, it seems to be time to make another one and, accordingly, the Government has announced a plan for a conference of all parties to consider electoral reform, redistribution of seats, methods of election and costs of elections – the purpose being to secure a Parliament more genuinely representative of the actual numbers of votes cast for the different parties and to give an equal opportunity to all men and women, however rich or poor, to take their places in Parliament. Many believe that the effect of these reforms, if they are adopted, will be to redress the balance in favour of the more radical influences in the country against the Conservatives, who are said to have enjoyed undue advantages under the present system. Yet it is a Government under a Conservative Premier and with a large Conservative majority in the House of Commons which has proposed them.

What the result will be we shall see, but this much is certain: Britain is resolved not only to abide by her parliamentary democratic way of life but to take every step necessary to make it work more justly and efficiently.

And the same in the economic sphere: the statesmen and the press are talking and writing a great deal now about the burning question of reconciling the essential virtues of State-controlled planning of the nation's economy and the equally essential virtues of private enterprise and free initiative

Britain is also seriously considering ways and means to achieve a greater cohesion between the Mother Country and the Dominions, especially in foreign policy and defence, so that the Commonwealth may act as one great Power in those spheres and the world may know in advance how the British Commonwealth of Nations as a whole will act in any given circumstance.

We are putting our own house in order so that we may prove a bulwark of ordered liberty and of prosperity based on a combination of community planning and private initiative. That is our way of life.

Constitutional developments: U.S.S.R. - British Commonwealth

FEBRUARY 3, 1944

Here in Britain we've been getting pretty interested lately in devising some scheme by which the United Kingdom and the various Dominions could pursue a constant and consistent foreign and defence policy. It's been suggested that the system by which we have established the different nations in the British Commonwealth as virtually independent States, bound together only by the Crown and sentimental ties, is not good enough, and that there must be a more coherent and closely co-ordinated arrangement.

At the same time the Soviet peoples have been making plans to give more recognition to the different States in their Union, to grant them more independence and autonomy and thus to moderate the strict central control which has hitherto been exercised.

So we have had discussions in the British Commonwealth concerning the need for a tightening up of the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions and between the Dominions, while in the Soviet there has been a decision to relax the authority of Moscow and grant to the individual Republics certain new rights in foreign and defence policy.

Now, although in our case it is a question of trying to tighten up the links between the different States forming our family of nations and in the case of the Soviet it is a case of loosening the bonds which hold that federal union together, it is nevertheless the same great political problem facing mankind which we are both attempting to solve.

The problem is simply this: nationalism has proved itself a tremendous force in this war; it has inspired men to suffer and die for it in a most amazing way. Yet nationalism is not enough and, though it is the inspiration of individual heroism, it may become the cause of international anarchy unless it is bridled. Therefore we must find some system of over-all international control which will limit the pretensions of unchecked nationalism, while at the same time preventing that central control from stifling the useful attributes of nationalism.

The problem is the same for the world as a whole as it is for the main constituent blocs of the world society as they are now – the Pan American Union, the British Commonwealth and Empire, the Soviet Union, the Chinese Republic, India, the States of Europe west of the Vistula and, perhaps, the Arabic federation. In the case of the world organisation as a whole and all its constituent blocs save one it is a question of limiting national sovereignty to a certain extent in order to get international co-operation. In the case only of the Soviet Union it is a question of limiting the central authority in order to get greater liberty for the different states in the Union.

Thus we and the Soviet Union approach the same problem from opposite directions. We shall meet on common ground.

As with the relationship of State to super-State so it is with the relationship of the individual to the State. In the world as a whole it is a question of limiting to some extent the liberty of the individual, politically and economically, in the interests of the community; while in the Soviet it is a question of limiting the authority of the State in the interests of the individual. Again, we and the Soviet move towards the same goal, a proper balance on which we can meet and agree.

And the main point is that we are all *moving*. We are, in fact, active, capable of change and development. But the system which Hitler and his agents in all countries represent, depends upon the crushing of the individual, the strait-jacketing of the national State and the octopus-like absorption of all independence in one vast bloated central control; it is petrified, sterile, static and dead.

No wonder the Nazis, who fear discussion and debate like the plague, jeer at us for our differences of opinion on how to solve the great political problems of the age. No wonder they say that our arguments are a proof of disintegration. No wonder that they gibe at the Soviet experiment as a mere propaganda trick and treat what is undoubtedly a serious, and even historic, essay in political science as though it were the kind of stunt which Hitler and Goebbels launch.

The living can afford to ignore the sneers of the dying. There will be a flourishing British Commonwealth, a developing Soviet Union, a healthy European family of nations, a vigorous American society of good neighbours and a sturdy world society long after the Third Reich

and its sterile New Order have dissolved into the grave of almost forgotten history.

British foreign policy

FEBRUARY 24, 1944

The British House of Commons has just been having a debate on the foreign policy which this country should follow in order to accelerate the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and to establish a system of security and prosperity in Europe in which Britain would play the part to which her past history, her present exertions and future position in the world both entitle her and demand of her

It was quite clear that none of the Members of Parliament who spoke had failed to learn the bitter lesson taught by the period between the two wars that, on the one hand, ideals unsupported by physical strength are impotent to establish a lasting peace, while, on the other hand, force divorced from decent principles must plunge the world into catastrophe

But, while it was plain in this debate that Britain is not this time ready to trust the peace to the assumption that those who have lost the war will be as keen to preserve peace as those who have won it, there was also a general recognition that peace cannot be secured by territorial readjustments alone or, indeed, can be permanently established by any form of physical guarantee unaccompanied by a political and economic settlement in Europe for which all States, whether victors or vanquished, will be in due course prepared to co-operate voluntarily.

In short, it was realised that, if high ideals and a belief in the essential goodness of human nature need to be reinforced by powers of compulsion against backsliders, physical force must not be the basis of a European settlement, imposed by the victors without any consideration for the welfare of the vanquished, but the instrument of a just and enlightened settlement which will be recognised as such by all who really want peace and have ceased to consider justice in terms of their own greed for living space at other peoples' expense.

Members of the Government and the House called for a resumption of Britain's traditional leadership of the forces of freedom and democracy aimed at making real the equally traditional conception of Europe as a single united family. The Foreign Secretary affirmed that Britain's attitude to the subject of revolution – the spectre with which the Fascists and their accomplices try to frighten us and so divide us from our real friends – is, as, indeed, it has been at all times when we have been truly ourselves, that we are not afraid of revolution but we

are not revolutionaries for its own sake. In our long history we have not shrunk from revolution in our own country or from supporting it abroad when there was no other way for freedom and justice to be secured but we have always preferred other methods when possible.

In short, what emerges from this debate is that the British people are resolved to become faithful again to what is best in the tradition of British foreign policy while bringing it up to date to meet the circumstances of the twentieth century, to be loyal to the permanent principles which have guided Britain as a leader of progressive and democratic forces and to eschew false doctrines that it is progressive and democratic to disregard realities, to entrust peace to a blind reliance on the goodness of others and to substitute moral exhortations for the power to put morality into practice.

Britain is her old self again with the added wisdom bought by bitter experience.

Anglo-Russian co-operation

FEBRUARY 29, 1944

As you've heard in the broadcasts from London in the past few days, there has been a lot of discussion in our Parliament and Press, and among the public, about the future of Europe and, above all, about the part which Britain and the Soviet Union will play in it. Now this is a free country and some newspapers and periodicals and some individuals have been saying things which the Germans and their agents in many countries have been prompt to pick up and spread about, things which just don't in any way reflect the views of our present Government or any Government which conceivably could get elected in the near or remote future, things which don't in the slightest represent the opinion of this nation as a whole but which may prolong this war and help to cause another one unless it is made absolutely clear that the people who say and write them will never have a chance to form Britain's policy.

The general gist of these peoples' talk is to suggest that British and Russian interests in Europe are bound to conflict and that the best foreign policy in the future will be to support and strengthen those influences on the Continent which could be used as a barrier against the Soviet and against those popular movements in the various countries which are friendly to the Soviet. Now, I think it the clear duty of anyone who speaks on behalf of the British man in the street to make it plain beyond a doubt that the British public is overwhelmingly behind its Government in rejecting such pernicious nonsense and in basing Britain's European policy on the confident belief that British and

Russian interests on the Continent are fundamentally identical, that is to say, the establishment of a European system possessed of a sufficient degree of political stability and economic prosperity to allow the nations to follow their destinies without falling into the temptation of supporting potential disturbers of the peace.

Britain desires all the peoples of the Continent to choose governments which will wish to live in friendship with both herself and the Soviet, and it is certainly not believed by any considerable body of opinion here either that the Soviet wishes to promote violent revolutions which will make a complete break with all that was best in European tradition or that Britain should try to re-establish the exact conditions which prevailed before the cataclysm.

The general feeling is that we must try not to patch up and repair the old structure of a disunited, violently nationalistic Europe of autarchies and blocs, but, on the foundations of our common culture – common, be it remembered, to Russia and many other of the western Soviet Republics – to rebuild a truly united Europe, of which Britain and the European part of the Soviet Union will be an integral part in spite of the extra-European interests of both of them.

Most people recognise that only in the framework of a general European system can the problem of Germany be solved and the possibility removed that a Reich, made more violently nationalist than ever by persecution, will succeed in promoting another war by exploiting rivalries among the victors of this one.

The British people are resolved to defeat these hopes by co-operating with the Russians and men of good-will everywhere to establish a united and prosperous Europe which will not be a breeding-ground for such crusaders. They are resolved on this, not only out of gratitude for the part played by the Soviet in helping to defeat the threat to their own way of life, not merely because they recognise that, but for the Red Army, all discussion of how to build a free and happy Europe would, at this stage, be remote and academic, not simply because they wish to see the peoples of the Continent who have suffered so much in the present catastrophe spared a repetition of the tragedy, but also because they have no intention, if they can possibly avoid it, of seeing their own children go off to die 10 or 20 years hence in another war.

A voice from the Eighth Army

MARCH 5, 1944

I, for one, was eagerly interested to read in a London paper today the reprint of an article which recently appeared in the British Eighth

Army paper *The Crusader*. In this article the soldier writer condemns those who say that the troops are only interested in beating the Germans and the Japanese as quickly as possible and then getting home to sink thankfully into their fireside chairs, put their feet on the mantelpiece, support a glass of beer in one hand and the Sunday paper in the other, and leave it to people they consider more able and less fatigued than themselves to look after the future for them.

He speaks of the horrors of the concentration camps for Jews and anti-Fascists which he has seen in North Africa and Italy, of the enthusiasm of the welcome given by the oppressed peoples to the troops who have set them free and he declares 'whether we like it nor not we *are* liberators.'

And then the writer turns to the great problem of what role the returned soldiers will play in Britain and therefore in Europe and the world, and he says, first of all, they must be vigilant against the minority of men who will always be ready to gamble the lives and careers of others for their own ends, who pray that the soldiers will be so wearied by the battle of bullets that they won't be interested in the battle of ideas. He then warns his comrades that if they sit down and rest and wait for the government to prepare lovely things for them, they'll get at most a year or two which will be just the same sort of life they had before the war and will only seem better because they've been away so long.

This soldier writer declares forthrightly that that won't be good enough. There must be higher standards, and then he writes this fine passage:—

'The solution of the problem lies in adopting the principles of Christianity.

'The four Gospels are fighting talk, and Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were among the first war correspondents describing a titanic struggle between good and evil. Christ was a casualty, but His work lives.

'There are men who start injustice — they are cruel. There are others who see injustice and turn a blind eye — they are cowards. There are others who fight against injustice and then stop — they are traitors. To start a crusade and not finish it would be to throw away all the achievements of the battle years and the lives of men lost in them. To lose the crusade would be to make the bereaved sons and wives bitter, to win would be to avenge them.

'This is not Communism, Liberalism or any other "ism"; it is simple agitation against mental laziness.

'It is a plea that we who have had the will to fight against mortars, shells, bombs and mines, should continue to stand on our feet after the whistle has blown and demand a land fit for fighters to live in and not a gilded cage for worn-out warriors.

'We want a land fit to walk erect in.'

Well, that's what this soldier wrote and what the troops of the great Eighth Army have been reading. I don't know what effect it will have had on them but I thought that it would be as well for the peoples of Europe to hear the views of a British fighting man and to think about them.

Montgomery at the Mansion House

MARCH 24, 1944

I was at the Mansion House, in the ancient City of London, today to hear General Montgomery speak of the coming great adventure across the water and I wish that everyone on the Continent who is anxiously awaiting the grand assault could have been there, too, to see and listen to this fine leader and to sense the atmosphere of resolute confidence which he cast over the assembly.

For certainly here was a great commander, certain of his own powers and of the fighting capacity of his troops, and, above all, certain of the cause in which Britain is fighting.

Dr. Goebbels in recent press articles, designed to give the wretched German people some reasons for hope, however slight, has declared that we shall fail to secure victory because we have no clear war aims. Well, he got a simple and sincere answer from Montgomery, who put our war aims succinctly and forcefully in the words with which our Archbishop hands to our King the Royal sword of State at his coronation: 'With this sword do justice. Stop the growth of iniquity.'

That precisely is what we are fighting for, to do justice and stop the growth of iniquity. This burning desire for justice and hatred for cruelty is, as Montgomery said, the tide which has borne this British nation through its history. And now this tide is running again at full flood.

Britain's role in war and peace

MAY 29, 1944

'Britain must uphold moral causes and she must find, at whatever sacrifice, the armed power necessary for their defence.'

That is what our chief Liberal newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, writes in the course of the extremely lively press discussion on Britain's

THE 'MAN IN THE STREET'-TALKS TO EUROPE

foreign policy which has followed the debate in Parliament last week.

This paper declares that it is essential for Britain herself and for the other countries of Europe that we should recover the position which we occupied from the defeat of Napoleon until the rise of Bismarck.

It was only when Britain allowed her material strength to fall far behind her moral influence that the new Prussian Empire was able to flout with impunity the standards of international conduct which had been established in the heyday of liberty and self-determination under British leadership, and to trample roughshod over all who were weaker than Germany. For half a century and more, Europe and the world have been kept in a perpetual ding-dong struggle between those who have the force to start a war without the moral fibre to win it and the moral authority to make the peace, and those who have the moral fibre to avoid defeat and the moral authority to make the peace but not the strength to keep it. This must end.

Today we have the strength for victory but, if in the pride of our strength, we forsake the moral values which we honoured when we were weak, then we shall change places with the vanquished and in our turn inevitably provoke a fresh war and our own downfall.



PART 3

Hitler

the Third Reich

the New Order

and

what we are fighting against



<i>June 9, 1941.</i>	Hitler's sham Socialism.
<i>June 25, 1941.</i>	Nazi nihilism and human progress.
<i>August 4, 1941.</i>	August 4th, 1914 - 1941.
<i>September 15, 1941.</i>	The S.S. are lonely.
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<i>February 5, 1942.</i>	A Russian view of the Germans.
<i>February 24, 1942.</i>	Death of Stefan Zweig.
<i>April 28, 1942.</i>	Nazis destroy the rule of law and the chance of victory.
<i>June 22, 1942.</i>	The fourteen martyrs of Mannheim.
<i>July 26, 1942.</i>	The S.S. Charter - Hitler's war aim.
<i>December 15, 1942.</i>	A stigma for generations.
<i>February 5, 1943.</i>	Bolshevism, rubber truncheons and bombers.
<i>March 26, 1943.</i>	Faulhaber's words.
<i>April 20, 1943.</i>	The guilty and the innocent.
<i>June 6, 1943.</i>	Our duty to German youth.
<i>June 7, 1943.</i>	Good Germans should stay and fight.

Hitler's sham Socialism

JUNE 9, 1941

What a New Order is Hitler's! Norway, with the bare minimum of food to enable the Germans to keep the people at work. Holland well below the minimum. France right down to starvation level. Belgium worse still. Rumania and Hungary, lands of great herds of cattle and rolling wheat plains, forced to live on snails and sawdust.

What a grand new revolutionary order is Hitler's! A petty alien princeling set to rule over the peasants of Croatia. Another, perhaps, for the Slovak peasants. Corrupt remnants of the old political system chosen to rule as Germany's agents in France, the heart of true revolutionary freedom. A quisling King doing Germany's bidding in Bulgaria. A grand new revolutionary order!

Well, we've always known Nazism and Fascism for what they really are over here - just plain reactionary militarism, backed by big business and consecrated to the enslavement of the common people.

Oh yes, we all know over here what Nazism and Fascism really are.

Those few people in England who at one time backed the Fascists knew what they were backing. And the mass of the English people have never had any doubt about what they would one day fight, if they were given the chance, and are now glad to be fighting.

The British workers haven't forgotten that it was 17 years ago tomorrow that the Fascist Mussolini murdered the workers' leader, Matteotti, and that Hitler, who modelled his system on Mussolini's, has been murdering and torturing the leaders of the German workers ever since he came to power.

For a time last year, Hitler got away with his sham Socialism in some parts of Europe, just as he had earlier got away with the pretence that he was the bulwark against Bolshevism. After securing the destruction of Czechoslovakia by posing as the champion of anti-Bolshevism, Hitler signed a pact of friendship with the Soviet. After undermining France by posing as the champion of revolutionary Socialism, Hitler went into partnership with the French reactionaries.

But that game won't work any more. The peoples of Europe are now clamouring for two things - freedom and food. Hitler daren't give freedom and can't give food. Britain can and will give the peoples both freedom and food, as Eden has promised. She is starting now in Syria.

Nazi nihilism and human progress

JUNE 25, 1941

If any proof were needed by the German people of the utter loathing in which they are held by the whole world, thanks to Hitler, they've got it now.

Today we see aristocrats and peasants, workers and employers, communists and capitalists, catholics and atheists, pacifists and professional soldiers, white, black, brown and yellow races, all united in one single, irrevocable resolve - the destruction of the Third Reich.

Hatred and war have forged that unity, but from hatred and war will come unity in love and peace.

Humanity (with the exception of the Germans and the Quislings who have temporarily become sub-human) Humanity instinctively hates Hitler and all his works because Hitlerism is nihilism, death and destruction to the human race. Masquerading as a dynamic life force which has already achieved perfection, it is in fact a system which condemns mankind to retrogression without end, which consigns society to anarchy and decomposition.

No wonder all men hate it like the plague, for man instinctively looks towards the infinite progress of the infinite spirit, which, while perpetually producing new difficulties and new problems, perpetually

overcomes them and marches on to better things.

Hitler blasphemes against both God and Man when he claims that his victory would achieve a new order which would last unchanged for 1,000 years. Man, who cannot stand still, but must press forward, revolts against such a claim with deep abhorrence.

And because Man revolts and will always revolt, Hitlerism, however great and seemingly complete its victories, can never endure.

The whole course of history shows that an attempt to enslave men inevitably awakens in them sooner or later an awareness of the value of liberty which may hitherto have been moribund

Nazism is a scourge which has its *transient* purpose in the scheme of things. It restores to men a realisation of the true value and desirability of all those things which are the opposite of Nazism.

The scourge would destroy humanity if it were not resisted, but it cannot, unless mankind is ripe for destruction and fails to resist, do more than provoke a violent reaction. In the years ahead this will result in a greater measure of genuine liberty and real progress than the world has every enjoyed.

The end of the scourge is in sight. Hitler has taught the world to hate. But he has done more. He has taught it to despise and has thus purged the hatred of fear.

There is no fear now. The lies, the forgeries, the falsifications of history and the perversions of justice have shown men that this system is fraudulent, a fake to its very core, a hollow sham which by its very nature cannot endure.

That which is evil and false cannot triumph. Depravity carries within it the seeds of its own destruction.

The world today stands united in hatred of Hitler's Germany, in contempt of it and in freedom from fear of it.

Soon the world, united, will rise and make an end of it and out of this unity formed first by fear, then by hatred, then by contempt, will come the unity of freedom from hatred and fear.

. Hitler will have served Man's purpose.

August 4th, 1914-1941

AUGUST 4, 1941

On August 4 twenty-seven years ago, an old order passed. Not many of us who are young enough today to be planning for the future remember very much about those days before Kaiser Wilhelm began Germany's bid for world domination.

Most of us have heard that the world which vanished when Germany

put out the lights of Europe in 1914 had something to commend it. There was a gaiety and easy-going, colourful spaciousness about it which we of later generations have never known. We also know that there was much about it that was neither gay nor colourful, but sordid and wretched.

In any case that world, with its attractions and its faults, came to an end August 4 twenty-seven years ago. In the four years that followed the best and bravest of two generations perished, men in their prime and men in the first flush of their youth, who might have built a better world in their day had they not been murdered by the German militarists.

Well, the Germans killed our fathers and our elder brothers and, robbed of our best men, we, like other nations, failed in the twenty years truce that followed Germany's temporary military collapse, to construct anything to replace the old order that ended in 1914.

The lights that went out on August 4 twenty-seven years ago never really shone again. There was a brief hectic glare of artificial light but this soon flickered out in the twilight of Facism, and in the growing darkness the Germans plotted to resume the war.

Now, once again, on this August 4, 1941, we know that the hideous German plan to plunge the world into the perpetual blackness of neo-pagan barbarism has failed.

We, the common people of England, are resolved that *we* shall not fail this time to build a just and enduring new world. We are resolved that this new world shall recover the gaiety, colour and spaciousness of those far-off pre-war days, that most of us never knew. And we are resolved that it shall be purged of the sordidness and misery which came down to us as a legacy from the past.

The lights have been out too long. They will shine again in Europe for millions who have never seen them and they will shine with a steadier, brighter beam than ever before.

This we resolve, We shall *this time* keep faith with the vast throng of simple men, women and children who have died bravely in the faith that the sacrifice was not in vain, that one day the black-out will end.

The S.S. are lonely

SEPTEMBER 15, 1941

'Few people in Germany dare to talk to the S.S. men, who are the local tyrants. They're very lonely and appreciate conversation.'

That is the statement of Major Billotte, who was a prisoner of war in Germany and escaped – not to join Darlan but to enter the Free French

forces carrying on the war by the side of their ally.

Travelling through Germany, that was what struck him – the loneliness of the S.S., that picked body of men charged with imposing the blessings of the New Order on Germany. They are very lonely, these S.S. men, and appreciate conversation

The conquered peoples of Europe need never feel this loneliness. Their friends are speaking to them day and night from London. But the Germans have no friends.

Europe is against the Germans and the outside world's against them. In the Continent they have drenched in blood and covered with the rubble of their bombardment, let the people maintain a stony silence towards their so-called conquerors. From the steadily closing ring now cast round Germany by the free peoples outside Europe, only the guns and the bombs will speak.

The Germans are very lonely. Let that loneliness grow until they learn that it is better to live in peace and friendly converse with a neighbour than to silence him by shoving a fist in his face.

Why Germany will lose

OCTOBER 7, 1941

Here is a story from Greece.

A German officer said the other day to a Greek officer, 'Well, you've seen the British Army and you've seen the German Army. Now who do you think is going to win the war?'

The Greek officer replied: 'I can't say. But I can tell you this: when the British were here they never asked that question.'

That story puts the situation in a nutshell. It sums up the past, the present and the future. It sheds a vivid light on the difference between the Germans and the British, a difference which explains why they will again lose the war, and we shall once more win it.

The Germans, in spite of all their victories and all their arrogant strength, are not sure of themselves. The British, in spite of all their reverses and all their weaknesses, are sure of themselves.

In the moment of triumph the German cannot really believe that he is really triumphant. In the moment of disaster the Briton is quite certain that the tide will turn.

And this is not surprising. The Germans have once before seen their dazzling successes turn to catastrophe. The British have, not once but many times, seen their calamities end in victory

Haggling over wounded

OCTOBER 8, 1941

Today there is only one thought among the people of Britain: 'You cannot treat with these Germans. You cannot make a pact of any kind with these enemies of mankind.'

We were ready to let the German mothers, wives and sweethearts have their men back. Those men had bombed our children; they had spat at the countryfolk who succoured them when they were shot down; they had abused and insulted the nurses who tended them in hospital. Nevertheless, we were ready, since they were hurt and broken men, to let them go in peace, back to their villages, their cottages and their families. We are not a revengeful people.

In every war before this, in every country before Hitler, this principle was accepted. If a prisoner has been rendered of no war use whatever to his country by his wounds, then let him go home to his house, his wife, his family. In the last war we returned to Germany all her severely wounded. Germany returned ours to us. Neither side haggled or counted heads. It was not a question of exchanging so many for so many; it was a principle of honour that each country should return all.

On this principle, established in a Convention accepted by the German Government, we acted. At first the German Government agreed on the principle. Then the German Government suggested that because there were more British severely wounded than German, we should also arrange the repatriation of sick and aged civilians. We agreed and to show our good will we included some sick German internees on our first list.

Then at the last moment, the German Government began to bargain. 'Aha,' someone said in Berlin, 'the English have conceded a little extra. We can squeeze them still more. Instead of accepting the principle we agreed to, we can do a better deal by demanding an exchange of heads. We have more English wounded in our power than they have German wounded.' But we have learned by experience what happens if you let a Nazi squeeze you. That is why the German wounded in Britain are on the way back to camp.

A few score wounded – a triviality in total war. But it is in trivialities that men disclose their character. The Germans wonder why they are hated, why the nations of the world have united against them. Here, in this triviality of a few hundred broken men, they have the answer. The German Government haggles, goes back on its word, seeks to extract the last ounce of flesh.

For a few hours the German and British Governments spoke to each other over the wireless. But all that is over. Not even in a simple act of

humanity can there be any understanding between the Third Reich and England.

The real plutocrats

OCTOBER 19, 1941

Doctors are nearly always honest and conscientious men. And so even in Nazi Germany doctors sometimes speak the truth.

Listen to the Deputy Leader of the Reich Medical Practitioners' League as quoted in *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* of October 2nd :—

'In Germany it is at present necessary to reckon with considerable reduction in the productive capacity of men and women from the age of 45 and 50 onwards respectively. Of the men between the ages of 40 and 45, only 59 per cent. are still in possession of their full vital strength, and between the ages of 50 and 60, only 37 per cent.'

Commenting on these figures, the *Deutsche Volkswirt* writes : 'The exertions of the last few years have greatly worn out the present generation.'

In other words, two-fifths of the men who normally should be in the prime of life are prematurely 'worn out' and have lost their 'vital strength,' and so have nearly two-thirds of men between fifty and sixty. For women, the results are an even greater indictment of Nazi methods: old age for the German working woman now begins at thirty, when her 'productive capacity' is 'considerably reduced.'

The *Deutsche Volkswirt*, which speaks for the German industrialists drawing huge profits from Hitler's war, issues a warning against the effects which a general increase in the length of the working day from ten to ten and a half hours might have on industrial output, and thus on their profits, in view of the exhaustion of the slaves of the Nazi war machine. Such an increase, it says, 'would cause serious disturbances to the smooth running of production, and thus increase economic costs.'

Here we have a complete revelation from a German source of what this war is all about. It exposes the German leaders who pretend to be the champions of Socialism and the workers, as the bosses in an international racket. This racket is aimed at exploiting the masses for the profit of a small clique including crooks and swindlers of all nations. It shows that the New Order is simply the same old swindle by which the common people, in the name of nationalism (when it suits) and in the name of European unity (when that suits) are to be induced to sweat and toil for the benefit of a gang of plutocrats.

The German masses are to endure either the blood and filth of the endless battlefield or the sweat and misery of the war factories not only

so that their own party bosses, industrialists and army leaders can enjoy power and wealth but also so that the world can be made safe for the collaborators, party bosses, industrialists, financiers and racketeers of all nations.

The German people have blindly and ferociously made themselves the tools of an international plutocratic conspiracy of a kind which the Nazi chiefs are so fond of denouncing. The Germans are giving their lives for Laval and all the rest of the shady gang as well as for Hitler, Goering, Ley, Terboven, Krupp and their other home-grown swindlers.

The other peoples of Europe, sometimes in the name of patriotism (as in Finland, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia and Slovakia) and sometimes in the name of an European New Order (as in the case of the occupied countries) are urged to give their blood or their labour so that this international clique, led by Germans, shall be able to go on exploiting the common people in all countries.

If the German people choose to degrade themselves to the level of cattle that is their business. But they shall not drag us down with them.

We, in Britain, the people of Russia and those of the United States and China are fighting as united nations (representing the ordinary decent folk of all stations, walks of life, political views and incomes) simply so that no men shall lose their vital strength at the age of 40 and so that no woman shall be old at 30.

A dangerous principle for Goebbels

NOVEMBER 14, 1941

The Nazis' disgusting treatment of the Jewish people has, it seems, been too much for even the Germans to stomach.

Dr. Goebbels has, therefore, just published a long article in the newspaper *Das Reich* aimed at checking what appears to be a growing tendency among the German people to befriend the helpless victims of the most brutal terror in history.

The authors of the massacre of 25,000 Jews in Odessa the other day are worried to see signs of pity and compassion among the German people for their wretched fellow citizens.

So Dr. Goebbels has been put up to prove that it is treason to show any common kindness or decency to a Jew.

The Germans, he says, have a great failing. They are too forgetful, too decent, generous and kind hearted.

The sentimental Germans, always ready to forget and forgive injustice, says Dr. Goebbels, are now giving the impression that they don't believe that little Jewish babies and fragile old women are really

ravening wolves plotting to subject the world to their bloody domination.

It must stop, he declares, and this is why. I quote Dr. Goebbels' own words :—

'The historical guilt for the outbreak and the spreading of this war has been so extensively proved that no more words need be lost. They wanted their war and now they have it.

'Sympathy or pity have no place whatever here. The Jews must be annihilated according to their own law: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. In this historical struggle every Jew is our enemy.'

In other words the crime of starting and spreading this war is to be answered for not by the actual criminals who set out to reduce the world to subjection but by the whole people of the race to which the criminals belong.

Now that is a very dangerous principle for Dr. Goebbels to pronounce in a world of which nine-tenths considers that the historical guilt of the German leaders for this war is indeed so thoroughly proved that no words need be wasted.

We echo Dr. Goebbels when he declares 'they wanted their war and now they have it.' But we have not yet accepted the axiom that an entire race can be marked down as different from all other peoples, evil and therefore ripe for man's persecution.

It appears that there are many Germans who, in their treatment of the Jews, have shown, to the Nazis' anger, that they do not accept this view.

They are wise, these Germans. It is a very dangerous principle for a German, fighting against almost the whole world, to accept. It would be well for Germany if these Germans who reject Dr. Goebel's thesis were numerous enough and brave enough to demonstrate their repudiation of Nazism and all that it stands for in a manner which could not be mistaken.

The day of the dead

NOVEMBER 23, 1941

Today in Germany it is Totensonntag — the Day of the Dead.

There is scarcely a German family which has no son or father dead in Hitler's war, to mourn. But there are very many German families which cannot join in the annual pilgrimage to the cemeteries.

For the graves of their dead are in the sea, in the Libyan desert, in Flanders, in Poland, in the Balkans, and beneath the snow in Russia. How many more graveyards will Hitler make for Germans—in the

Caucasus, Transcaucasia and in the birth place of modern man in Asia Minor?

The list of Hitler's dead is by no means complete.

We, too, remember Hitler's dead on Totensonntag. We remember the dead of the towns and cities bombed at Hitler's command – the men, women, and children of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, London, Coventry, Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth, Hull, Liverpool and Glasgow.

We remember the dead who have died at the hands of Hitler's executioners – the patriots of Nantes and Bordeaux, the Poles, Serbs, Norwegians, Belgians, Dutch, Greeks and Czechs, who, faced with the choice of submission or the grave, preferred to die on their feet rather than live on their knees.

Yes, on this Day of the Dead, there is plenty to remember for all Europe which Hitler has sought to make a continent of the dead. Hitler has endeavoured to condemn humanity to death for a thousand years – to a death of the spirit and of the soul.

Only in Germany has he succeeded. There he has carried out the sentences on an entire generation, upon the youth of Germany. Those young men in whom he has extinguished the spark which kindles the spirit of man and raises him above the beasts, are better in their Russian graves than stalking Europe in a living death carrying with them the fatal pestilential infection which spells mortality for all whom it touches.

We in Europe have a bill to render to the Germans, who have permitted their Government to torture and murder our peoples, but at least the rulers of Germany have not been able to kill our soul, to degrade and debase us. Indeed, the peoples have undergone a spiritual rebirth under the German bludgeon and the youth of Europe has not for centuries experienced such a singing vitality of the soul.

But the Germans today on their Totensonntag have to mourn the spiritual death of their youth.

Let them pray for a resurrection of the human spirit which will enable them to help rid the world of the forces of evil and death.

A Russian view of the Germans

FEBRUARY 5, 1942

The most widely discussed subject today is what is going to happen to Germany and what is going to happen to Europe as a whole when we have won the war.

We're talking about it here in England and I'm sure you're talking

about it all over the Continent. The Germans, whose voice is the only one allowed to be heard in most European countries, talk about it a great deal.

Realising, apparently, that they are in great danger of losing the war – an interesting contrast with what they were saying a year ago – the Nazis are telling their own people that, if they give in, they will be wiped from the face of the earth, while they are telling the rest of Europe that, if Germany loses, Russia will, with Britain's permission, reduce the Continent to that condition of savage anarchy which has been associated by Fascist propaganda with the word Bolshevism.

Russia is being held up as a bogey by the Nazis in the desperate hope that fear of the Soviet will induce their own people and the peoples of the other European countries to rivet their own chains on their necks for fear of something worse.

The Nazi attempt to portray the Russians as ferocious beasts has been rather successful. In this country listeners who have heard me say that, while we must make certain that the Germans never again make war on the world, we do not want to exterminate the German workers and peasants, have written in large numbers to say that I am a milksop and that they hope the Russians will get to Berlin first as they will massacre the Germans wholesale.

Now that is what the Nazis want the German people to believe, so that they will go on fighting to the last drop of their blood rather than turn against their gangster leaders and destroy them. The Nazis would also like the other peoples of Europe to regard the Russians as fierce savages who will be as ruthless towards the rest of Europe as towards Germany unless they are beaten.

Well, as Dr. Goebbels seems to have had some success in his efforts, even in this country, let us see what the Russians are really like in their attitude towards the common people of all lands, including Germany.

I'm going to read you some extracts from a description in the Soviet war news of conditions in a camp for German prisoners of war from the Eastern front.

This is what the writer in the Soviet paper says:

'Can you imagine several hundred young people getting together in Germany for a free and unrestrained discussion of war and peace, and debating questions of politics and philosophy?

'No! Such democratic gatherings of young Germans are of course out of the question in Hitler Germany. But less than 1,250 miles from Berlin such meetings do take place, attended by German workers farmers and students, who debate and hammer out their new ideas together. I am, of course, referring to meetings of German war prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

' " I began to think here for the first time" said one young German soldier after a heated discussion.

'The German soldiers have been converted from fighting automata into thinking men.

'It stands to reason that not all of them have passed through such an evolution. Among them are some diehard Nazis who to this very day hope to become the masters and executioners of foreign peoples. Among them are former leaders of the Hitler Youth, and other individuals prepared to sell whatever convictions they have for their personal advantage. But the fact is that such types now form the minority.

'These young German soldiers are undergoing a tremendous moral change. They are sincerely striving for a new understanding.

'It is the awakening after a nightmare in which imperialism paraded as German socialism, raving madness was presented as order, shame and disgrace as glory and crime as heroism.

'All of a sudden they were face to face with truth. Astonished by this truth they asked: "What will happen to Germany?"

'From Hitler's mercenaries these young men have been transformed into champions of Germany's future.' And the writer concludes with an appeal to the German people:

'People inside Germany hear their message! Do not wait for the Nazis to fall under the blows from without, the blows inflicted without your aid! Help to crush Hitler so that when the peoples settle their account with him, Germany herself may not be crushed.'

Those who do Dr. Goebbels' work by speaking of the Russians as bloodthirsty beasts who will massacre the German people, men, women and children when they have won the war, had better think again . . .

Considering the atrocious cruelties perpetrated against the Russians by the Germans, I must say that I find their attitude towards the people who have wronged them – their willingness to accept them as brothers and comrades if they will renounce Fascism and learn to think like human beings – one of the most hopeful signs for Europe at present visible.

Death of Stefan Zweig

FEBRUARY 24, 1942

So Stefan Zweig is dead, apparently by his own hand. Another monument to the Nazi champions of European culture against the barbarous Bolsheviks.

Stefan Zweig was a great writer, a fine product of western civilisation. So what happened to him when the Nazis got to power in his native Austria?

He was hounded out of the country, of course. He shared the honour

of Thomas Mann, Einstein, Freud and many other German and Austrian writers and scholars of world fame, the honour of being exiled from their native land.

Zweig's spirit was broken by the degradation of his own nation. He left a letter saying:

'Now that the country of my own language is suffering, and Europe, my spiritual hope, is destroying itself, I am without the strength necessary to re-build my life at the age of 60.'

Well, the Nazis have stamped out another bit of the culture they profess to defend. But they are not content to destroy their own literature. They are busy torturing and murdering every decent writer they can find all over Europe.

Today it is learnt that the Swedish authors' association has protested against the sufferings of Norwegian authors thrown into concentration camps. One of those most brutally handled by the Gestapo is the novelist Ronald Fangen.

He wrote a book about the Germany of 100 years ago entitled *The Man Who Loved Justice*.

The Nazis didn't want to be reminded that there was once a Germany in which there was anyone who loved justice and was still outside a concentration camp.

But, in spite of all the whips and rubber truncheons, the flame of European culture will be kept alive by the writers of Europe. Out of the blood and muck of Nazi Europe will blossom a gorgeous flower of new literature. It is being written now and so long as men and women can get a scrap of paper and a stub of pencil it will go on being written. Even if the Gestapo were to seize all writing implements the authors of tomorrow would store their blazing words in their minds.

Stefan Zweig and the others will be given a true memorial.

Nazis destroy the rule of law and the chance of victory

APRIL 28, 1942

Nine years ago the German Minister of Justice, Frank, speaking in Hitler's name, declared :—

'I want to emphasize how impossible it would be for any attempt to be made to bring about any sort of change in the independence of judges. Gentlemen! Hitler's National-Socialism is strong enough to bear independent judges. Woe to the State which is afraid of the independent judge. Such a State would with full justification stand condemned from the beginning and for all time.'

Condemned from the beginning and for all time! Frank said it, in Hitler's name. We agree.

That was in 1933 and now in 1942 we find that Hitler's National-Socialism is *not* strong enough to bear independent judges.* But if the regime which cannot permit justice to be done is weak, what of a nation which can submit to the last vestiges and pretences of law and equity being stripped away?

Hitherto it has been possible to believe the Germans duped and tricked, to imagine that they did not perceive, so cleverly was it concealed, the naked force by which their affairs were ordered, to think that they had been conditioned by propaganda into the delusion that human dignity could still survive under Hitler. But now it is impossible to think that. Hitler has torn away his mask, has shed the last pretences. He alone is to be allowed any human faculties; the German people are his cattle.

Of all the freedom, freedom of speech and of worship, and freedom from want and fear, it is that which Lord Simon has described as the Fifth Freedom which most clearly distinguishes a civilised community from the savagery of barbarism and bestiality. This is how Lord Simon describes this Fifth and fundamental Freedom:—

'The freedom of every citizen, however poor, however uninfluential, however unpopular, however wrong-headed, to appeal to the law and the Courts to protect him from injury or insult, even though the wrong was committed by the misuse of official power.'

That is the freedom for which, above all, we fight; that is the freedom for which all the peoples conquered by force of arms continue to struggle and that is the freedom which has been voluntarily resigned by the mass of the people only in Germany.

All over the globe men, who *are* men, are saying to each other that a people who can submit to such humiliation has none of the qualities which win wars. The submission of the Germans to Hitler's unlimited and no longer veiled tyranny is regarded everywhere as the clearest possible evidence that such a nation has not the ghost of a chance of survival as a great nation let alone of achieving victory.

Since Hitler spoke the last trace of belief in even the outside chance

April 26, 1942. — * Speaking of the crisis on the Eastern Front, Hitler revealed that he had taken 'ruthlessly harsh action with the grimdest determination to master a fate to which otherwise we might have succumbed.' And he demanded 'that the nation should give me the right wherever there is disobedience or inactivity to intervene immediately and to take the necessary action.' He would interfere not only at the front but equally in the workings of the law at home. 'The world — which also includes Germany — must not be allowed to perish merely in order that some entirely formal justice shall live. . . . Henceforth I shall personally interfere in such instances and I shall relieve of their office judges who evidently fail to understand the needs of the hour.'

of a German victory has vanished no less on account of the revelation of the Reich's hopeless lack of spirit than on account of the internal stresses and strains revealed by the speech.

It is thumbs down for the Reich everywhere as far as the war is concerned, and it will be thumbs down for the Germans for all the future to come unless they can muster the spirit to re-assert their title to humanity

The fourteen martyrs of Mannheim

JUNE 22, 1942

The firing squads, or decapitation detachments, are busy now in Germany, too. The German people are being accepted by the Nazis into the ranks of their enemies, or potential enemies. The Nazis are afraid of the Germans.

It's not surprising. There is good reason to be afraid of someone you have betrayed.

Supposing Churchill had told us last October, as Hitler and his henchmen told the Germans, that our main enemy had been annihilated and then, more than six months later, he and his spokesmen had started to tell us that it was a miracle that we had survived, and that only his divine genius had saved us from complete disaster at the hands of the annihilated enemy - well, I think there would have been a bit of an explosion.

So we're not surprised here in London to learn that Hitler and his henchmen have got now to turn their terror against Germans as well as all the other nations of the Continent. And we welcome as friends and comrades all Germans who are prepared to court death at the hands of the Supreme Law Lord.

Fourteen Germans are declared officially to have been murdered for organizing an opposition to the men who are murdering hundreds of thousands of their fellows on the Eastern Front. It is not more dangerous today for a German to be an enemy of Hitler than to be his obedient slave.

While millions are slaughtered like cattle for a lost cause in Russia a few dozens are dying like men in the Reich for an ideal that commands the loyalty of everyone who is a man.

The S.S. charter - Hitler's war aim

JULY 26, 1942

If anyone up to yesterday had any doubts as to what this war is all about they must have been cleared up by the revelation of Hitler's pleasant little plan for the future of humanity.*

And if any are still ready to collaborate or compromise with the Nazis, whether a government or an individual, it must be assumed that they endorse Hitler's scheme for the perpetual oppression and exploitation of the ordinary folk of all countries, including their own.

There can be no neutrality in this war. If it is dictated by a desire to keep out of trouble it is, as Cordell Hull says, absurd and suicidal. Otherwise, it is sheer wickedness.

Either you are ready to fight and die if necessary for the Century of the Common Man or you are prepared to assist in ushering in the Century of the Common Crook.

There has been a lot of talk to the effect that the Allies have not clearly enough defined what they are fighting for. This has often been used as an excuse by cowards or a pretext by traitors for acquiescing in what the Nazis are fighting for. Certainly we have not been so profuse as the Nazis in our promises of a paradise for all, for workers, for financiers, for peasants and for landowners. But we have made it clear enough that we are determined to establish conditions of peace and security, of law and order, in which to solve the difficult problems of providing a square deal for all, in spite of their often conflicting interests; and we have not, behind a facade of good intentions, been plotting the eternal enslavement of the peoples of Europe in the interests of a gang of criminal conspirators.

That is what the Nazis and their accomplices in other countries have been doing for years during which they professed peace and plotted war, posed as Socialists and planned a super-plutocracy, pretended to be anti-Bolsheviks and conspired to destroy the Churches, the law, the

July 26, 1942. - * In March 1942, British troops in LIBYA overran the H.Q. of No. 2 Troop of the 75th German Artillery Regiment. Among the papers which they captured was the famous 'S.S. CHARTER,' a secret document on the function of the Armed S.S. in the future German Reich.

The armed S.S. was to become the State Police of the Reich, and should a crisis arise at home, it was to be used to put it down because 'the German Armed Forces, conscripted from the whole people' could not be sent into action against their fellow citizens. Only the Armed S.S. recruited from men 'of the best German blood, who unconditionally identify themselves with the philosophy of life which is fundamental to the Greater German Reich will resist disruptive influences in critical times.' For this purpose it was necessary that the S.S. 'should feel a pride in its integrity and will therefore *never fraternise with the proletariat* and with that underworld which undermines the fundamental idea.'

sanctity of the home, those moral foundations of society and the entire basis of western civilisation.

During all these years in which Hitler and his fifth columns in all lands schemed in secret against the people while masquerading as their champions against a reactionary and oppressive old order we, the people, felt helpless and bewildered because the very fifth columnists who were conspiring against our way of life were, from positions of privilege and power, making that way of life appear indeed rotten and effete.

Some of us instinctively knew the Nazis' real purpose but many were perplexed, but today all is clear and simple. If we had no other war aim than to prevent the establishment of the diabolical system provided for in Hitler's Charter to the S.S. it would be enough to give us the will to victory in what is indeed a People's War, a war to save the peoples of Europe from the Rule of the S.S.

A stigma for generations

DECEMBER 15, 1942

The British people are as a whole a calm, unemotional and phlegmatic people. They are slow to hate and quick to forgive – too quick, other people often say.

But there is one thing which can arouse the hatred of the British and which they are very slow to forgive. That thing is cruelty.

The official reports which have now been received of the fearful cruelties which are being practised by the Nazis in Europe – particularly against the Jews – are today stirring the public more deeply than I can ever remember before

The Germans have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the evil doings of their rulers. If Hitler carries out at least one promise – the promise to exterminate every Jew in Europe – it will not add one ounce to Germany's strength. Indeed, these maniacal cruelties have already seriously weakened Germany by raising against her the desperate resistance of all the peoples of Europe and by arousing the condemnation and disgust of the entire civilised world, including those countries still neutral

Indeed, it is the German people who, from a purely selfish point of view, should feel most horror and dread at what is happening, for it is being done in their name.

Looking, as we are now increasingly, to the establishment in Europe of a durable system of international collaboration, we are dismayed by the thought that Germany is placing between herself and the civilised world a river of blood which, if it is swelled much more, cannot be bridged for generations.

The massacre of the Jews is not a war issue but something much bigger, affecting the entire post-war future – the future of the Jewish people and of the German people.

The Jews in Europe are faced with extermination. The Germans are faced with a shame and disgrace which will not be wiped out for generations.

The German people could, by doing what they can to mitigate the cruel fate threatening the Jews, avert the fate which threatens themselves.

Such a fate, to become execrated outcasts and to know that their children and grandchildren will bear the stigma for generations after them, is far worse than anything that can be inflicted upon them by the Gestapo.

Bolshevism, Rubber truncheons and bombers.

FEBRUARY 5, 1943

Bolshevism, rubber truncheons and bombers – bombers, rubber truncheons and Bolshevism. The Nazis' wheel of fate is going round full circle.

These gangsters who rose up from the gutter got their start in Germany by winning the favour of the rich and reactionary, the industrialists and the army chiefs, by posing as the crusaders against Bolshevism – that is to say against any social reform which menaced wealth and privilege and the cult of militarism.

When they had got the backing of the Ruhr magnates and the Junkers they proceeded to smash the opposition of the working men, the liberal middle classes and the intellectuals – all those, in fact, who wanted peace and happiness and real culture and not Prussian Kultur and war – they proceeded to smash their opposition with rubber truncheons and revolvers.

And so these Nazi gangsters got well established in power in Germany by use of the Bolshevik bogey against the reactionary and the timid and by the use of rubber truncheons against the progressive and the courageous who weren't afraid of the bogey and had to be saved from it by brute force.

Germany was theirs. The gangsters were in control. Now it was Europe's turn. In every country they used the Bolshevik bogey to secure the support or connivance of the wealthy and reactionary, who preferred the return of Prussian Kultur to the danger of a revolution of the Left in Germany.

They gave the gangsters money and the gangsters built bombers

- the rubber truncheons of international affairs. And when the Nazis and their Prussian sponsors had enough bombers in 1938 they set out to save Europe as well as Germany from Bolshevism, brandishing their bombers over Vienna and Prague and shaking them in a threatening fashion at London and Paris, just as in Germany they had brandished their rubber truncheons over the heads of the people who had to be saved from Bolshevism.

Austria fell, Czechoslovakia fell, under the threat of German bombers. France and Britain hesitated. The rest of Europe watched in fear.

Then it was Poland's turn. The Polish people refused to be intimidated. The British and French peoples said it was time to end it. Crash came down the blow of the rubber truncheon of the nations, the bomber force. Warsaw!

The British and French had no arms with which to ward off the blow from their Polish Allies. The Russians had not yet enough - they were arming themselves to ward off the blow when it should be their turn to be saved from Bolshevism.

The Nazis turned west with a snarl. 'Now will you be saved from Bolshevism' they said, but they said it in a whisper for they were not yet ready to save the Russians.

The Norwegians, the Belgians, the Dutch, the French, the British - all refused to submit to the threat of force. So crash went the rubber truncheon bombers again: Christiansand, Rotterdam, Courtrai, Boulogne, Calais, Coventry, London!

The Norwegians, Belgians and Dutch fell beneath the cruel blows. The men of Bordeaux and Vichy quailed and submitted. The British, stronger than the Norwegians, Belgians and Dutch, with leaders of a different calibre from the men of Bordeaux, took their punishment and survived, bloody-headed but still on their feet.

The Nazis turned East. The Bolshevik bogey did the trick with the rulers of Rumania and Hungary. For the peoples of those countries, in case they didn't want to be enslaved by Germany as a safeguard against Bolshevism, there were again the bombers. The threat was enough.

The Yugoslav and Greek peoples defied the bombers. Crash again went the international rubber truncheons. Belgrade, Piraeus. Still the British hadn't the arms, the air force, with which to save their allies.

Hitler turned on Russia. Now it was her turn to be saved from Bolshevism. Leningrad was to be a Warsaw, Moscow a Rotterdam, Stalingrad a Belgrade.

But Russia, like Britain, took her punishment, bloody-headed but on her feet.

And then - and then the rubber truncheon broke in Hitler's hand. It had been used too freely. It broke on British and Russian heads. Slowly but relentlessly Churchill and Stalin pulled from their scabbards

their own new-made truncheons and Roosevelt took his place beside them with the biggest one of all.

Today it is the United Nations who have the bombers with which to smash at Germany and her satellites, if necessary, and the fighter planes with which to protect themselves and their friends. The Nazis no longer have the bombers with which to terrorise unwilling vassals nor the fighter planes with which to protect still subservient clients. The Germans can neither coventrate Turin nor protect it from the Royal Air Force.

And so the Nazis, robbed of their instrument of terror, have fallen back on their Bolshevik bogey, the weapon they used so successfully before they had their bombers. But the nations which now have the bombers have lost their fear of the bogey and those who might fall for the bogey must think of the bombers.

With their air force broken, unable to give even their own people either the satisfaction of reprisals against Britain or protection from her, the Nazi gangsters turn on their people with the Bolshevik bogey for those who may have repented of bringing them to power and the rubber truncheon for those who may remember that they never really wanted them in power.

The wheel is nearly full circle, with the Nazis again struggling for power in Germany. The day is not far off when the circle will be complete and the Nazis back in the gutter whence they came.

Faulhaber's words

MARCH 26, 1943

'Justice is the basis of all social order. If it is built up by the use of force it will not last long. Without right and justice the reconstruction of Europe, about which we hear so much, is impossible.'

'The State may not set might over right. The State may not make expediency its criterion. The decision about whether a thing is right or wrong cannot depend on whether it brings profit and advantage or not.'

'Parents have the right not to have to put up with interference from outside in bringing up their children. The meaning of the family does not consist exclusively in the preservation and increase of national strength.'

Well, these are simple truths which you have heard often expressed from London and you may ask why I should bother to say it all over again. But the words which I have just been speaking were not mine, nor those of one of the leaders of the United Nations, but those of a German, and not a German of a bygone age but of one who is living

today in the Third Reich.

They were spoken by Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, on March 7th, in St. Michael's Church in Munich. Most of the world heard them not from the German radio, but from the Vatican, which last night broadcast these extracts from a sermon which the German Government has done its best to suppress.

It is odd that the Nazis should be afraid of these words of an Archbishop when they are now trying so hard to persuade the world that they are fighting for Christian civilisation, for justice, for the rights of small States and individuals, when now that Might so clearly belongs to the United Nations, they are pleading that Germany at least represents the Right.

You would think that the Nazis would be proud to let the world hear what this German Cardinal had said. The fact that they have done their best to suppress his sermon suggests that they fear that people may consider that it was a condemnation of themselves, that the invocation of justice, law and the rights of the individual may harm them, that it may be compared with the recent instructions by Hitler's Minister of Justice, Thierack, enforcing throughout the German Legal System the principle: 'Right is what profits the German Nation.'

The rulers of the Third Reich, condemned by Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, stand self-condemned by the suppression of his denunciation.

The guilty and the innocent

APRIL 20, 1943

Fifty-four years ago today one of the world's great calamities occurred. Hitler was born. No one now is interested in how old Hitler is. As a matter of fact, he is as old as evil itself, a monstrous survival from the most ancient, darkest and bloodiest days of man. This creature who has posed as the champion of youth, the apostle of the Future and the architect of a New Order, is incredibly aged.

He loathes youth and the surging life-force which it represents. Incarnation himself of the forces of death and destruction, he has one aim and goal only for youth - the grave as early as possible. How many millions of young men has he sent to their death on the battlefield? How many young people and children have died in the cities of Europe from the bombs which he deliberately let loose upon the world? How many young people and children have been massacred in cold blood by his execution squads or starved to death?

This man, who dares to call Europe to a crusade against what he terms the Bolshevik forces of death and destruction, had for years been

plotting the holocaust into which he plunged the world in 1939.

Let his own Minister of so-called Education, Dr. Rust, give the verdict as to who wanted the blood-bath, Hitler or the Communists, the Jewish-Marxist Bolsheviks as he calls them?

Speaking in April two years ago, Rust said: 'It is the will of the Creator that the earth should be a field of battle. It is the deepest conviction of Hitler that militant action is the fulfilment of Divine Law. We can only realise the full might of the clash between National-Socialism and Jewish Marxism when we recall the slogan of the marching columns of the International at former celebrations of the First of May: "Never again war!" If the Fuehrer had not appeared then the slogan "Never again war" would not have remained limited to those marching columns of the International. In the Marxist youth associations the conception of existence without struggle was made the basic viewpoint of youth and State education would have succumbed to this conception when the national bourgeois existence crumbled.'

Thus Dr. Rust has placed it on record as a source of pride that Hitler smashed his communist opponents in Germany because they were against war, the war which he wanted and was determined to have – when he was 51 rather than when he was 55 or 60. That was the crime of the Bolsheviks when Hitler was striving for power: they tried to turn German youth against war.

And that is their crime now in his blood-crazed eyes: they are trying with all who hate Nazism and Fascism, to create a world in which the slogan 'Never again war' will indeed represent the basic viewpoint of youth.

Let us today, as we salute the Red Army – fighting with us a war to end war – and as we salute the Communists of all countries who risk their lives alongside their comrades of all parties in order to make a world in which life doesn't end at 20 on a battlefield, let us also today remember those marching columns of the International in Germany who, because they challenged Hitler with the slogan 'Never again war,' were bludgeoned and tortured into submission by the Nazi thugs while the rest of the world, hypnotised by the Bolshevik Bogey, looked on and in many cases, apparently preferring war to any drastic change in the social and economic systems, applauded.

We should remember that there were Germans who died in the attempt to keep from power or to remove from power the man who they knew was resolved on war. They died on the streets and in the concentration camps. These Germans, communists, socialists and liberals were not Hitler's accomplices: his accomplices in Germany were the Junkers, the industrialists and the greedy and self-centred bourgeoisie, and even the churches, who helped him to batter down the men and women who committed the crime of crying 'Never again war.'

But he had accomplices also outside Germany, in many countries,

who preferred property to peace, who supported the crusade of those days against Bolshevism and hoped that the war which Hitler wanted would be fought only in the east.

The crime of this war is not upon the head of every German. Nor are all whose nations are ranged against Germany innocent.

The chief guilt belongs to Hitler and all those other Germans who nurtured the Prussian cult of war and brought it to its apotheosis in the National-Socialist State, but some of the guilt belongs also to all who thought it a crime to be young, to shout 'Never again war' and to have bright dreams about a world in which the brotherhood of man would not be poisoned by the greed for property and money.

On Hitler's birthday, let us remember that Hitler will die and Germany will be disarmed but the evil forces of which Hitler is the incarnation can rise again in other countries unless we remember that they represent a streak of barbarism and sadism in human nature which is not confined to any one nation or race, a streak which every people must eradicate from itself before we can confidently cry 'Never again war.'

Our duty to German youth

JUNE 6, 1943

Henry Wallace, the American Vice-President, has a habit of saying things today which even those who are most shocked by them find themselves saying tomorrow. If people had said and thought those things, and acted upon them yesterday, we probably shouldn't have had this war.

Wallace's is a sane, cool voice speaking amid what is too often a bloodthirsty babel of bomb-worshippers. He knows as well as anyone that we have got to use bombs relentlessly to break down the barriers which bar men of all nations from a happier future but he prefers to let the bombs speak for themselves and to talk himself about the plans to clear up the mess which they are making.

Today he has been talking about the future of Germany and our responsibility to German youth, to whom he says we must give a chance to play their part in developing a peaceful, worth-while purpose in life.

It may seem odd to many that anyone should feel under an obligation to the young people of Germany in view of what they have done to Europe in recent years but the truth is that we, the victors of the last war, are under an obligation to repair the great folly and wrong which we committed when we failed in 1918 to smash the Prussian militarists and their accomplices, the armaments magnates, once and for all, when

we weighted the scales against all those millions of young Germans who had learnt to hate war and who longed to return to the liberal traditions of those Germans who, in the last century, struggled alike against the reaction of the Austrian Metternich and the blood and iron of Bismarck.

After the last war, with the defeat in the field of Bismarck's Reich, we had our chance to set Germany on the right path again. What did we do? We left the Junkers and the arms magnates unscathed and helped them rivet their hold again on Germany by creating economic conditions which, while not destroying Germany's power to rearm, caused such widespread distress that the war-makers had only to find a brilliant demagogue and gang-leader in Hitler in order to overthrow the young Republic and start preparations for the Second World War.

By a mixture of stupidity and evil design we helped to nip in the bud the tender growth of German democracy, to divert the enthusiasm of disillusioned and desperate young Germans into the poisoned and perverted channels of Nazism and then sought to salve our consciences by saying that all Germans are bad anyhow.

Of course all Germans can be bad; they can be unspeakably evil, just as all men can be bad. Certainly the love of peace and liberty and hatred of war and tyranny are not, for historical reasons, so deeply rooted among Germans as among the British and French and it is easier for a Hitler to gain power in Germany than for a Mosley to achieve it in Britain or for a Laval to gain popular support in France, but because this is so we have all the deeper a responsibility to see that the conditions created in Germany after this war are those which will help the love of peace and freedom to take root and will not allow the noxious weeds of militarism and totalitarian tyranny to choke that delicate plant.

The young German is capable of the quality of enthusiasm, which Wallace so rightly declares to be the prime essential for those who wish to fashion a new world. The world knows with what tragically distorted enthusiasm the youth of Germany embraced the foul faith of Hitlerism. That tremendous enthusiasm must be harnessed to worth-while things. Our first duty will be to guarantee to the rising generation of Germans that we shall not again fail to destroy the influences which have dragged humanity into two world wars and will drag us into a third if they get the chance, and our next duty will be to guarantee economic, political and social conditions throughout Europe which will ensure that the young people who learn to love all that is liberal and humanistic will not have their hearts broken by cynics and reactionaries, as they were broken in Britain and France, no less than in Germany and everywhere else in Europe, after the last war.

For this it is essential that those who themselves possess the enthusiasm of youth for the great liberal, progressive and humanistic principles which have given Western civilisation its inspiration through the cen-

turies, shall wield the influence and power among the victorious United Nations. Tired cynics, who have lost faith in everything but the power of a bomb to destroy and can recognise no generous motive in men, must not control our destinies.

Good Germans should stay and fight

JUNE 7, 1943

John Bricker, Governor of the American State of Ohio, today declared that his German ancestors left their native country in 1830 to get away from those very things for which Hitler stands. He added that all the very many people of German descent in the State of Ohio are enthusiastically supporting the American war effort against the Third Reich because they are descended from men and women who loved freedom, could not find it in their own country and so sought and gained it in the New World under the Anglo-Saxon political system.

In the past it has been possible for people in Europe who despaired of liberty in their own countries to cross the seas in search of it. Our own English ancestors did it 300 years ago. It was fortunate for us and for the world that not all the men and women who loved liberty went abroad, that many stayed behind who were ready to fight for it at home. Indeed it has been the misfortune of many countries that those who prized freedom fled overseas while those who stayed at home were ready to submit to tyranny. Particularly true is that of Germany who has supplied thousands of her sons to work and fight for freedom abroad but only too few to work and fight for it in their own country.

Today it is no longer possible for Germans who recognise the true values of civilisation to escape from their own land. Today and tomorrow those Germans who honour truth and treasure liberal and humanistic ideals must seek them at home and be prepared to fight and die for them at home if need be.

Yesterday, Henry Wallace, the American Vice-President, said that we of the democracies were under an obligation to the youth of Germany, that we had failed them after the last war. He was, I believe, right. But, while we can and should admit where we fell short, the main responsibility for the failure of Germany to break with her bad traditions lies fairly and squarely with the Germans themselves. That Germans can make good citizens – that they are not, as some suppose, biologically different from other men – is proved by the fact that the forbears of Governor Bricker and countless others of German descent have made good citizens in the countries of their adoption. There seems no reason why a German should have to seek shelter under the Anglo-

THE 'MAN IN THE STREET' - TALKS TO EUROPE

Saxon rule of law before he is capable of developing the best that is in him. Let the German of tomorrow build with his own hands and brain his own rule of law in his own land instead of seeking it ready-made in a foreign country.

We can, and must, provide the conditions in which what is good in Germany can come to the surface but Germany can be regenerated and saved in the long run only by the Germans themselves.



PART 4

Our Allies and others

some of the people and
some of the ideas we
are fighting with



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Women - free and enslaved

SEPTEMBER 8, 1941

In the free democracies women are the comrades and equal partners of us men, confident, capable and independent.

As in Russia, we and the Americans have our women engineers and air pilots, women surgeons and women lawyers, but, in spite of their increasing activities in public life our women still retain their place of honour at the centre of our family life.

The mother is still the biggest single force in the life of every man – just as Mr. Roosevelt's mother was the main influence in the life of the President of the United States.

When Roosevelt became President his mother said simply :

'All I hoped was that he would be a fine upright man like his father. So he is. Now he is President, too.'

In those simple words is summed up the whole essence of decent civilised life. It was more important to Franklin Roosevelt's mother

that he should be an upright man than that he should be famous and successful. And that is true of the vast majority of the mothers everywhere

And what of the women of Hitler's Empire? This is what we learn of them.

They are to have sons who will not even know who their fathers were. They are to produce boys who will be taken from them at the earliest age and converted by the Nazi youth leaders into ferocious, false and brutish servants of the Devil-State.

German women are to be merely the promiscuous and degraded inmates of a gigantic stud-farm, dragging out their wretched lives between the satisfaction of the lusts of killer-boys and the bringing into the world of more killer-boys.

To save the women of the world—including the women of Germany—from such a fate is one of the war aims of every Englishman who has loved and honoured his mother and taught his son to do the same.

Paul Collette and General de Gaulle

OCTOBER 3, 1941

I heard de Gaulle speak today. He spoke proudly, as a Frenchman today has a right to speak, for, as he said, 'France, crushed, pillaged and betrayed, is rising again.'

De Gaulle has played a great part in the resurrection of his country. As a reward his traitorous fellow-countrymen at Vichy have condemned him to death.

He shares that honour with young Paul Collette, condemned to death today by the German masters of Vichy.

Collette is not a general of France. He has no soldiers, sailors and airmen under his command. But, like de Gaulle, he knew his duty—to strike a blow for France.

De Gaulle and Paul Collette are brothers in arms. Collette, in his gaol awaiting execution is also a Free Frenchman, free and a Frenchman because he defied death to strike a blow for France.

Collette is free because he cast out fear. To be unafraid is to be free and to be free and fearless is to be victorious because Hitler's power is based on fear and servitude.

Even Hitler, the assassin of the peoples, cannot physically murder the nations of Europe. He can only hope to kill their spirit. While they keep their spirit alive he cannot conquer them.

The day will come when the army of the French People will go into battle again like the first great citizen army of the French Republic 150

years ago – tattered and ragged but indomitable and irresistible.

And when that army marches, it will march with the names of de Gaulle and Collette blazoned on its banners – two soldiers of France.

Hitler has not finished with the French, any more than he has finished with the Czechs, the Serbs, the Poles, the Belgians, the Norwegians, the Greeks and the Dutch.

One by one, discontented and weak, he laid them low, but they have risen again, not one by one, but together, united and strong.

The pogrom of November 10th, 1938

NOVEMBER 9, 1941

Three years ago at this hour the evil man who has just announced proudly that he has killed, maimed or enslaved 10 million Russians, was making the last sadistic preparations for a less gigantic but even fouler crime against humanity.

Do you remember the great pogrom which began at 3 o'clock in the morning of November 10, 1938?

That was Hitler's first really ambitious experiment in raising the lust of the German people for murder, pillage and torture at the expense of a defenceless people.

The Jews in those days were Hitler's only hostages. He tried out on them the methods he has since employed on the French, the Czechs, the Poles and the Serbs. He goaded them by unspeakable persecution until at last that young Jew hit back. It was just what Hitler wanted. He could revenge himself upon an entire innocent people who had no connection whatever with the man who fired the shot – just as he has revenged himself on the innocent at Nantes and Bordeaux.

There was not much outcry in official quarters when Hitler gave this first large-scale exhibition of the New Order at work. There were more Pharisees than good Samaritans in high places, but all over the world there were millions of simple men and women who suddenly realised that there was no room in the same world for them and Nazi Germany.

Three years ago Adolf Hitler sought to establish the principle that a whole people must pay for the act of any of its members. It was a dangerous principle for the German people to accept. There are so many people, Gentile and Jew, who have been wronged by a German.

Good Friday

APRIL 2, 1942

It is Good Friday again and throughout Europe the thoughts of men and women, and children too, will turn to that day nearly 2,000 years ago when Jesus of Nazareth suffered in agony upon the cross.

A man need not be devout or even a believer to recognise the significance today of that tremendous act of self-sacrifice, of ghastly suffering voluntarily endured for the sake of mankind.

The men who had the weapons and the power, the conquerors of their day and the Quislings of the time, offered Jesus the choice between collaboration, the denial of His faith, and torture and death.

But Jesus, the personification of life and, therefore, of all that is strong, did not hesitate in His choice. Resolute in the knowledge that He must follow the path which He knew to be right whatever the sacrifice and suffering, that the courageous acceptance of pain and even humiliation was essential to the attainment of the goal in the teeth of evil, He drank the cup of sorrow to the dregs.

And by so doing He made certain that the forces of good would triumph over the forces of evil.

The story of the Resurrection has a glorious symbolism for Europe today. Jesus, who willingly made the extreme sacrifice for mankind, rose again. The life force which He personified was too strong to be destroyed by physical torture and murder on the Cross. And Judas Iscariot, the traitor who sold Jesus and, therefore, mankind, to the brute forces of force, Judas died by his own hand and for him there was no resurrection.

And so today any people which betrays and sells humanity to the enemy of man is inevitably preparing its own doom without a hope of resurrection, but a people which drinks the cup of suffering to the dregs rather than deny its faith is indestructible and will live again.

Today we here in England who remember Calvary will think also of the Crucifixion of those countless men and women who are again redeeming mankind by their readiness to defy unlimited cruelties rather than follow the path which leads not to Calvary but to the bottomless pit.

And we shall think also of those people—ininitely fewer—who have preferred the example of Iscariot and, for the thirty pieces of silver which are represented by satisfaction of the lust of conquest, national aggrandisement, personal gain or mere avoidance of suffering, have chosen to serve the anti-Christ.

From agony on the cross built by the conqueror there is resurrection. From the suicide's noose there can be none.

Mrs. Roosevelt

OCTOBER 28, 1942

The Nazis and Fascists are very annoyed by Mrs. Roosevelt. For one thing her visit to England and the very warm reception she has been given here makes absolute nonsense of the Axis pretence that Britain and America are distrustful, suspicious and jealous of each other.

But there's much more to it than this: the mere existence of Mrs. Roosevelt infuriates our enemies because she represents everything which is most completely opposite and will eventually be fatal to all that for which the Axis stands.

Mrs. Roosevelt is kindly and warm-hearted; they are cruel and have hearts of ice. She is honest, decent and simple; they are cunning and perverted. She behaves like an ordinary human being while they behave like the brutish and degenerate products of the Roman Empire at its most decadent stage. Above all, Mrs. Roosevelt is a woman who leads a full, complete and independent life as a free and self-respecting citizen and now, as wife of the United States' President, plays an important and even vital part in the leadership of her country and the United Nations.

The Nazis and Fascists don't believe that a woman should be a free, self-respecting citizen, leading a full, complete and independent life. A woman to them is one stage lower in the scale of slavery than a man. Even if she belongs to the boss class and isn't forced to toil in the field or factory or live a life of drudgery in the kitchen, she enjoys no respect or influence, but, loaded with jewels and furs, is treated simply as a courtesan.

Still less do the Nazis and Fascists allow women to play any important part in leadership. In not a single Fascist country is there a woman who remotely approaches the position held and the role played in the national life by the Queen of England, Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Roosevelt, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, Mrs. Chiang-Kai-Shek, or that great Russian workers' leader, Nikolaieva.

Perhaps of all the strengths of the free nations and of all the weaknesses of the totalitarian States the most fundamental is the fact that our women, from the wives of the heads of State to the wife of the ordinary man in the street, play so great a part and theirs play so negligible a part in the political and social life of the nation.

And while our women take part to the full in public life, they are still the heart and core of the greatest factor in the strength and stability of the community - the family. They still play the proper and essential part of mothers and wives. But in the Fascist States the family no longer exists in any true sense. Children are taken from their parents to be

brutalised and corrupted in youth movements. The young are set against their parents and wife is set against husband. Every family is a potential nest of spies and informers.

These are some of the reasons why we welcome and applaud Mrs. Roosevelt and why our enemies hate and abuse her. She stands for these fine strong things – things which are contributing more than all the guns planes and tanks to our victory.

Not fighting just to win

DECEMBER 3, 1942

There is striking evidence today from all over the world that both the peoples of the free and the enslaved countries have, in the midst of the barbarism of war, and the sufferings of subjection, preserved the essential qualities of civilised human beings.

There is even some fragmentary evidence that in the enemy and vassal countries some people have still maintained the capacity of rational thought in spite of all the efforts of their régimes to bestialise them.

I'm referring to the fact that almost everywhere men and women are showing their realisation that what is really important in the long run is not the war itself but what the war is about and what it is for.

Civilised human beings do not fight just for the sake of fighting, nor do they even fight just to win, to defeat the enemy: they fight *for* something. And it is proof that civilisation has not only survived but has actually become more vigorous and complete in those countries which have been subjected to the barbaric ordeal of war for years, that it is in those very lands that interest in war *aims* and post-war reconstruction is strongest.

At the start of the war there was, naturally, a general disposition to concentrate on the job of sheer survival rather than on the kind of world in which we wished to survive.

Today only a few isolated voices can be heard to say that we are too busy winning the war to worry about political problems – as if there was any point in winning the war unless we were acutely concerned about the political and social results of victory.

It is indeed those peoples who are making the heaviest sacrifices and bearing the hardest ordeals who are most concerned with the fruits of victory which will make those sacrifices worth while and the ordeal bearable.

This, to me, is conclusive and final proof that the attempts of the Nazis and Fascists and their accomplices to destroy civilisation have

already failed. Their military defeat will merely confirm that failure. But, if they had succeeded in the course of this war in reducing us to their own level, in destroying in us the capacity to keep clearly before us the purposes for which we are fighting, in inducing us to adopt their methods and principles, then our military victory would not have saved civilisation from destruction.

We must not be defeatist about the peace

DECEMBER 20, 1942

A statement published in London's Sunday newspapers caught my attention today. It was by an American – Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, and believed by many to be a future President.

Wallace said that at present he thought that the problems raised by economic and political imperialism, racial antipathies, jealousy, hatred and vengeance were not being overcome. But he affirmed his confidence in the ability of men of faith of all walks of life to swing into action together to prevent the coming peace from being just another interval in a long series of wars. And Wallace added that post-war problems could not be solved by orders from London, Washington or Moscow but only by useful and constructive thinking by the common people.

Now that declaration by the Vice-President of the United States, coming at this moment, struck me as of very great importance to all of us who may be tempted to feel discouraged and helpless in the face of those difficulties of peace which are becoming so increasingly alarming as the prospects of the war improve.

The ordinary citizen in Europe – as in Britain, which is becoming more and more an integral part of Europe – must fight against the temptation to become cynical and resigned when events occur which seem to suggest that once again victory will turn to ashes, that once more expediency, opportunism, nationalist jealousy, imperialist rivalry, defence of privilege, reaction and sheer greed and jealousy, will render the sacrifices of the peoples in vain.

We simply must not become resigned and apathetic, saying helplessly to ourselves that it's no good and as usual 'they' – meaning the influences which we distrust and dislike – will be too much for us. That is defeatism and treachery to humanity. Defeatism about the peace is even worse than defeatism about the war.

The peoples can only be defeated in the post-war world by their own apathy, their own lazy habit of resigning responsibility and complaining futilely and querulously about a state of affairs they have done nothing to prevent and are prepared to do nothing to alter.

Let men of faith in all walks of life start thinking clearly and constructively and now make up their minds that when the shooting stops there will be another great battle to be fought – then they will prevent what was until the fall of France a phoney war giving way, with the fall of Germany, to a phoney peace

Christmas Day, 1942

DECEMBER 24, 1942

In just over an hour's time it will be Christmas Day.

It may seem to some that for humanity, nearly 2,000 years after the birth of Christ, to be involved in the fourth year of the most appalling war in history, is final proof of the failure of Christianity and conclusive evidence that mankind is incapable of salvation.

But I prefer to believe that this war is, on the contrary, proof that Christ's teachings will triumph and that humanity is working out its salvation. If this war had not been fought and Hitler had been allowed to achieve his aims – which was the only alternative to fighting – then indeed, Christianity and western civilisation would have perished and mankind would have been damned.

It is because men are still ready, as they have been through the centuries, to bleed and die for what they believe to be just and right, for liberty, equality, fraternity, justice and decency, that humanity will be saved and Christ's teachings will conquer.

Always men could have had peace and avoided bloodshed at a price – the price of all that we understand by civilisation. Always there could have been peace through capitulation to the forces of tyranny, injustice, greed and reaction. There could have been a gigantic and final Munich.

It is because men would not capitulate that there has been war, that there is war to-day.

And it is because men will not capitulate, will *never* capitulate to the forces of oppression and reaction that there will be more wars after this one unless there emerges from this war a world of genuine freedom, equality and justice.

If this war is to establish the only enduring peace that is possible, then it must be fought according to the principles taught by Christ and the post-war settlement must be according to those principles.

Let us for a moment remember what really were the principles of Christ, whose ideas have been accepted by all, whether devout or agnostic, as the foundations of our civilisation. Christ was the friend of the poor and lowly, the enemy of privilege and great possessions. He was what most of us would call a radical social reformer and what a few

would call a revolutionary.

He spoke out boldly against those who sought riches and power at the expense of the common people and because he would be neither intimidated nor bought off by them they did him to death.

Hundreds of years before the French Revolution, Christ gave humanity the conception of liberty, equality and fraternity, and it is those things for which men have fought through the centuries and always will fight. It is only those who have twisted Christ's teachings to bolster up the cause of despotic or oligarchical authority, privilege and class oppression, who have sought to show that a passion for freedom, progress and social justice is the enemy of Christianity.

Let the United Nations, as they march towards victory, remember that there can be no peace on any other basis than the true principles of the teachings of Christ which are those of all the great teachers and prophets of mankind.

The rule of law

JANUARY 10, 1943

Fædrelandet, the Danish Nazi paper, complained that 'equality before the law' had ceased to exist in Denmark, that the police were discriminating against Danish Nazis and only waiting for a German defeat to deal with them thoroughly.

My first impulse was to say 'well, it serves them right. Their beastly Nazi movement destroys all legal security for the individual and it's a jolly good job if they do themselves suffer from the rule of lawlessness when the tables are turned.'

But then I began to wonder whether, after all, it was a good thing that the Nazis should so utterly destroy the rule of law and the conception of justice and fair play that their opponents would, when superior force was at their disposal, use it against the Nazis without respect for law.

And I very soon came to the conclusion that, though such a state of affairs might give a grim, ironic satisfaction to a detached celestial observer, it could not be welcome to anyone who has got to live in this world of ours and try to restore decency and justice to it.

If the Nazis should succeed in rooting out from Europe the whole conception of the rule of law, and substituting even among their opponents the idea of political discrimination carried out by a police force serving not the community but the political régime of the moment, then the future could hold only pain and grief for all who really love justice and liberty and this war would not have been worth winning.

The peoples of Europe, including the British people, must set their faces against the temptation of fighting the Nazis with their own weapons for that would be a victory for Nazism and Fascism in spite of the defeat of the Germans and Italians.

The criminals must be punished. Justice there must be, and let it be stern, but there must not be lawless vengeance. The Nazis and Fascists, whether Danish or of any other nationality, have no right to claim justice but we must recognise our duty to exercise it. . . .

Wallace on democracy

MARCH 8, 1943

It is the fashion today in some quarters – quarters, be it said, at opposite political poles, holding the most extremely antagonistic views on everything else – to agree in condemning democracy as effete and out-of-date, a peculiar British institution which no one else should seek to emulate or initiate and in which the British themselves have lost faith.

Since that is the fashion in fashionable political circles, it is refreshing for those of us who are not ashamed of a political philosophy which has brought untold good to the world, and has within the past three years stood as the one remaining bulwark against the flood of barbarism and savagery, to read the bold and completely unapologetic affirmation of faith in democracy just made by Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States.

Wallace declares courageously that democracy is not merely a political form designed to achieve a material end but in itself is a philosophy which pervades the hearts and minds of those who live by any faith, whether Christian, Mohammedan, Jewish, Hindu or Confucian, which preaches the dignity of each individual human life and soul, and which stands for the principles of brotherhood and good neighbourliness and the unity of the entire world in a common purpose.

Wallace tackles frankly the apparent conflict between the freedom of the individual, represented in its most complete form by anarchy, and duty to the community, advocated in its extreme form by totalitarianism. And he advances the conclusion that the happy medium between these two extremes, the solution to the apparent conflict, is to be found in democracy.

The Vice-President of the United States suggests that the individual can achieve his greatest pleasure and happiness by serving freely the highest and most complete unity, the general welfare of all, and not by enslaving himself to the limited and circumscribed and selfish unity of the national State.

That is what democracy means to Henry Wallace and that is what it means to me and millions all over the world who can't express themselves.

Against this solution (says Wallace) stand two other conceptions which have achieved popularity - that which believes that national units based on the enslavement of the individual must fight national wars until one comes out on top and dominates all the rest, and that which, while paying attention to the rights and liberties of the common man, believes that class must fight class until the proletariat comes out on top. The first (says Wallace) is the conception to which Prussia and Prussianised Germany have been devoted in the past 80 years, reaching a climax and culmination in Hitlerism. The second (he says) is Marxism, in which hitherto the Russian people have been the chief believers and which has in the past used some of the same methods of Prussianism but has never believed in war between nations as an instrument of national policy, has never adopted the doctrine of race superiority and which has been led into some of the actions most condemned by the Western democracies in the past simply by fear of German Prussianism.

The American Vice-President, after quoting Church of England and American Catholic publications for evidence of the great improvement of the position of the Christian Church in Russia in recent years, declares flatly and, I'm sure, without fear of contradiction from any sane person:

'The future well-being of the world depends upon the extent to which Marxism, as it is being progressively modified in Russia, and Democracy, as we are adapting it to 20th century conditions, can live together in peace.'

Wallace goes on to say that Prussian Hitlerism must be utterly eradicated from the world and the German people re-educated by German teachers who have preserved the liberal democratic tradition of Beethoven, Schubert, Schiller and Goethe.

But while Prussianism must assuredly be wiped out, Wallace believes that we in the democracies must learn from the Russians in serving and gaining the enthusiastic support of the common man . . .

The six kinds of democracy

MARCH 14, 1943

Today one of the London Sunday newspapers prints in full another remarkable speech by Wallace in which the American Vice-President develops still further his idea of a weaving together of the American,

British, French and Russian political and economic systems to secure the enduring happiness of the Common Man against the predatory enemies of all peoples.

In this speech, Wallace says that many today believe that we have over-emphasised what might be called political or Bill-of-Rights democracy. Carried to its extreme form (he says) it leads to rugged individualism, exploitation and even to anarchy.

Russia, perceiving some of the abuses of excessive political democracy, has placed strong emphasis on economic democracy.

Somewhere there is a practical balance between economic and political democracy. Russia and the United States both have been working towards this practical middle ground. In present-day Russia, for example, differences in wage income are almost, but not quite, as great as in the United States. The manager of a factory may be paid ten times as much as the average worker. Artists, scientists, and outstanding writers are usually paid more than factory managers or political commissars.

The chief difference between the economic organisation of Russia and that of the United States is that in Russia, it is impossible to live on income-producing property without working.

Wallace goes on to say that Russia has probably gone farther than any other nation in the world in practising ethnic democracy, that is to say, equality of opportunity for all races and minority groups. He says that we Anglo-Saxons can and must learn much from the Russians in this direction.

Wallace then refers to a fourth kind of democracy which Stalin has furthered by every means in his power, namely educational democracy, which has in 20 years changed Russia from a 90 per cent. illiterate nation to one in which nearly 90 per cent. of the people can read and write — one of the reasons, he says, why Russia is able to beat the Germans, and why Hitler, believing, as usual, his own propaganda about savage Mongolian hordes, has been given so unpleasant a surprise in the East.

The American Vice-President then refers to a fifth kind of democracy which flourishes in Soviet Russia, the democracy and equality of the sexes.

In short (says Wallace) we must graft on to our own political democracy those other essentially democratic developments in economics, education and treatment of racial and sex questions in which the Soviet is ahead of us, while the Soviet Union will continue to move, as it is already moving perceptibly, towards greater liberty in political and religious matters.

Today Monsignor Spellman, Catholic Archbishop of New York, has declared that the aims and ideals of the United Nations clearly follow the teachings of the Church and are in accord with the allocations of the

Pope. Only a day or two ago the Archbishop of Canterbury referred with approval to some of the social principles of Karl Marx, who died a political refugee here in London 60 years ago today.

And yet only six years ago Pope Pius XI condemned equally the anti-Christian and blasphemous philosophy of Nazism and the denial by the Soviet State of the natural rights of the individual, the sacred character of the family and the independence of the human personality.

Since the issue of those two encyclicals much has happened. While the true character of the Nazi and Fascist régimes, in those days imperfectly understood, has revealed itself in stark bloodstained delineation in a dozen tortured countries, the Soviet system, equally imperfectly understood, has steadily evolved towards western and humanistic conceptions of society and has strengthened the bonds between the new Russia and what was best in the Old Russia – the tradition of civilisation shared by Russia with the rest of Europe.

Today that which Pope Pius XI denounced in Communism six years ago and that which the Nazi propagandists describe as the Red Peril is to be discerned only in the Nazi-Fascist system and methods.

The nations of Europe will recover their political liberties and their good laws and democratic institutions as Giraud and de Gaulle have today promised France. They will add to those liberties, laws and institutions, what they have learnt to admire and respect in the Soviet system and they will root out for ever the hateful systems and methods which have been imposed upon them by force or fraud by Hitler and his minor imitators.

And to quote a famous American writer's article in a London newspaper today, we shall do it not through the, at present, fashionable appeal to motives of enlightened self-interest, but through disinterested devotion to a cause, through becoming just and generous citizens, not by appeals to cupidity and greed, not by deriding altruism and idealism, but by lifting ourselves above ourselves, by rising above self-interest, by introducing goodness and nobility of thought and action into our public lives.

I believe with Horbert Agar that the public is not averse from an experiment in high-mindedness, that the man who, like Churchill in 1940, promises hardships in the service of honour in the post-war years, is the man who speaks the language of the people and the man whom the people will follow.

The children's front

MAY 24, 1943

Radio Paris has appealed to French children to give up their toy soldiers.

'Little boys,' said the announcer ingratiatingly, 'most of you have lead soldiers. If you give them up you will be helping your country, which so badly needs lead.'

Radio Paris works for the Germans. It wants, under the guise of a false appeal to the patriotism of French boys, to rob them of even their toys in order to get lead for the Germans.

Lead for what? For the bullets used to kill the fathers of French children, shot as hostages?

Perhaps. Anyhow, lead which will help the Germans' war machine to prolong the slavery of France.

The little French boys will not give up their toy soldiers. They will treasure them because they are reminders of the greatness of France, the greatness of that French Army which, side by side with the British and Americans, drove the Germans back into their own country 24 years ago. They will treasure them because they keep alive the memory of the glory that was and that will be again, when French soldiers in their hundreds of thousands once more march beside their fellow countrymen who are already able to strike a blow with their allies against the common enemy.

Many of the children will treasure their toy soldiers as precious souvenirs of fathers, uncles and elder brothers who have been killed by the Boche in battle or in the execution yards.

No doubt the Germans will send their agents to take away the children's toys by force as they have taken everything which they and their Quislings could not get by trickery. Well, toy soldiers can be hidden until the time comes to make them into bullets for Frenchmen to fire at Germans.

The children will know what to do. They know what to do everywhere in Europe today. The children's front is one of the strongest of all the fronts against the Nazis.

Politics and the people

JUNE 15, 1943

The peoples of the world and the great men of the world are today thinking more clearly and vigorously about the problems which face humanity than they have done for generations, even for centuries.

But . . . to state the methods which must be adopted to secure a better world is more complicated and difficult than to state the principles on which it must be founded. It is here that a lot of nonsense is talked. For instance, a man got up in London the other day and declared that our soldiers believed in victory and a better world but had no use for politics and politicians. How on earth anyone imagines that society can be organised and run save by politics and who on earth anyone imagines can do it save politicians, it is hard to understand. The whole of living is politics with a small 'p' and the detailed working out of methods which will make it possible for men to live together is politics with a big 'P.' Politicians are simply those members of society whose job it is, by popular consent, to work out and apply the methods.

The Germans and Italians dispersed their well-meaning but rather weak politicians and got Hitler and Mussolini – politicians with a genius for evil. Of course there are good and bad politicians and merely foolish and feeble ones.

If the people don't like the politicians they've got, they must get the politicians they like. They will have the politicians they deserve. That is democracy, rule by consent, and the only alternative to rule by force.

I believe that the peoples will get themselves good politicians provided the power of the bad ones to impose themselves by force is removed and education prevents them from imposing themselves by fraud.

Oddly enough, it was Napoleon, the soldier and dictator, who said: 'It is an error to believe that the people does nothing when it is not being led. The people has an instinct which moves it on and according to which it acts on its own. During the Revolution it led the men who appeared to be conducting it.'

The people, in fact, will produce their own politicians and they mustn't despise the politicians they themselves produce.

On the other hand politicians must certainly not despise the people who produce them. The people are not always right, though they often are, and in any case they have an inalienable right to be wrong – and to take the consequences. It is permissible in wartime for Ministers to say that if their decisions receive the plaudits of the populace it's very nice and if they received the criticisms of the populace, it's just too bad, but they must be the judges of what is right and persist in their decisions, whatever the people say, even if it ends in their being hanged. That's all right in wartime when Ministers must know more than the people and in wartime the people won't hang the Ministers, anyhow. But when peace comes, Ministers will have to give the peoples the facts and let them judge, even if they may be wrong. And the people must learn to judge and to judge right if they are to be saved, even if in the process some wrong judgments are made and some very wise Ministers suffer.

American Independence Day

JULY 4, 1943

American Independence Day has been celebrated all round the world with genuine enthusiasm

And these celebrations have been something much more than a tribute to a powerful ally. They have represented homage to an idea which is the possession equally of all who fight for freedom. The French have commemorated the triumph in the New World of the principles of liberty and equality which they themselves, a few years later, were to emblazon on banners which swept across a continent, and which though several times dipped in the face of alien ideas, have now again been raised aloft above a French Army.

The Russians have honoured a revolt against tyranny such as they themselves carried out nearly a century and a half later. And we British – for whom American Independence Day recalls a humiliating defeat – we celebrate not the severance of the ties between ourselves and the American Colonies but the victory of a conception of freedom which the English gave to the world over a government in London which was unfaithful to it.

The Americans broke away because they were determined to have a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed and because they were resolved to exercise their right to alter or abolish any government which sought to rule against the consent of the governed.

It was a principle which the English themselves had fought for a century before, which most Englishmen even at the time approved and in defence of which British policy has been shaped since.

That is why we in Britain celebrate so joyfully the American Declaration of Independence. One day the German and Italian peoples may pay tribute with as sincere an enthusiasm to the Atlantic Charter, Roosevelt's declaration of the Four Freedoms, and the defeat of their own Governments in the present war of liberation.

When that day comes, the German and Italian peoples will be fit to play the leading role in the world to which they aspire and have sought in vain to attain by violence.

On July 4th, then, we do homage to the ideals of liberty and equality which we in this country first upheld in our own island and planted in the New World, which championed them when we faltered and has twice returned to re-establish them in Europe. Ten days hence we shall pay tribute to the same ideals for which the French people were the first on the Continent of Europe to do battle when they stormed the Bastille.

Mighty physical forces are assembled now behind these mighty ideas,

which are more explosive than bombs. The historic principles of western civilisation are armed again, ready for the assault on the grim and gruesome Fascist citadel which flies a standard bearing the words: 'S.S. Charter.' - Hitler's Magna Carta to the thugs and criminals of Europe to bludgeon the common people of all nations into submission.

We are proud of our weapons and our warriors, but we recognise that it is the idea for which we fight that makes us invincible. And we remember that on American Independence Day, as we shall on Bastille Day.

Anti-popular influences at work

AUGUST 8, 1943

There seem to be a lot of people about who imagine that, by turning against the Nazi and Fascist thugs with whose aid they hoped to convert this world into a paradise for the few who lust for power and money and a hell for the many who want only freedom and happiness, they can still hold up the forward march of the common people into their inheritance. . . .

Even in countries on our side in this war, there are a few men and women who, ferocious now in their condemnation of Nazis and Fascists, were until quite recently their accomplices and admirers, and still look forward to a kind of world in which the ends which the Nazis and Fascists have pursued violently, brutally and unsuccessfully, can be achieved more gently and suavely. Those in neutral and enemy countries who have much the same records and nourish similar hopes are counting a good deal now on their assistance in cheating the peoples of the fruits of the victory in what has been and remains a peoples' war.

But it is just no good for men who once hailed totalitarianism as a bulwark, not only against so-called Bolshevism but also against liberal democracy, to start wooing the Left at this late hour and to try to buy back their forfeited right to leadership with the blood of former accomplices. It is no more good for them to think that they can frighten the great moderate forces of opinion among the democracies into supporting them by representing themselves as the sole guarantee against chaos and disorder.

The British people, who, in their long history, have never minded creating a certain amount of disorder when it was necessary, are not now going to be frightened into backing reaction as an alternative to a spot of bother of a kind pretty well inseparable from the process of rooting out a deep-seated evil. They know that the peoples of the Continent, no less than themselves, will be capable of restoring order and preserving

it on the only sure foundations of order – law, justice and the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number. And the British people also know that no disturbances which might accompany the final liquidation of the forces of political reaction and economic nationalism and imperialism, could compare with the horrors of that third world war which would assuredly follow if these forces were allowed to survive.

Over here, we should prefer the war to last longer rather than shorten it at the cost of entrenching the anti-popular influences and thus making the peace short, too. But that is not the choice. By backing the popular forces in every country we can both make the war short and the peace lasting. There is no other way.

The ideological war is over

DECEMBER 22, 1943

We don't know how long the military part of this war is going to last or when the destruction of the German Army will be complete but we certainly can say now and with absolute confidence that the ideological part of the war is over and that it has ended with the utter defeat of the pseudo-philosophy of Nazism and Fascism.

Nothing could be more complete than the rout of all those ideas in whose name Hitler, Mussolini and their imitators in other countries set out avowedly not merely to conquer the democratic nations but to destroy democracy and the entire Liberal and progressive way of life. For that, and no less, was their aim, frequently and specifically declared. And now what do we find? We find that in German-occupied Italy the whole conception of Fascism is so thoroughly discredited and bankrupt that even Mussolini has been compelled to drop the word 'Fascist' while the Germans are being forced to abandon all hopes of gaining public support through the influence of men known to be fascists, whatever they may choose to call themselves. In Allied-occupied Italy, we find a state of affairs in which it is becoming clearer every day that the one and only sure way of rousing Italian fighting spirit is to meet the popular demand for the rooting out of the last vestiges of Fascism.

We find that in Latin America, whatever the true colour of a régime which has been ousted from power or of that which replaces it, each side seeks to enlist the support of world opinion by labelling the other Fascist and itself a democratic movement of the Left. We find in Spain a similar response to the current of the times in the decision to disband the Falangist Militia and in other moves to divest the régime of its more obviously Fascist attributes. We find Antonescu protesting

loudly his sympathy for a progressive social policy, and the Magyar and Finnish Press vociferously claiming to have been on the side of the democratic angels all the time.

Has there ever in the history of man been a political creed and philosophy which has had such tremendous initial success and yet has failed so swiftly and so abjectly as Fascism? In twenty years it has swept to the pinnacle of success and crashed into the abyss of failure. And that this has been so is at one and the same time an indictment of the initial gullibility of the ordinary people and a tribute to their ultimate shrewdness and common sense. Fascism, with its glib promises, spectacular methods and skilful appeal to what is worst in men and women, made many quick converts and was scarcely anywhere opposed vigorously and unanimously by the people. Even those who suspected it and disliked it felt too often that there might be something in it. But the people very rapidly found it out and saw it in its true colours and today there can be only a handful in the whole world who honestly believe in it. There are, no doubt, many more who still regard it as the most brilliant means yet devised for fooling and exploiting the people but even they are forced to realise that it was just not clever enough and has now been exposed and discredited beyond redemption.

It is interesting to consider whether the total defeat of Fascism, the final and complete overthrow of an ideology which set out to conquer the world, has been due to its practical failure, particularly its failure on the battlefield, or whether the reverse is true and Germany and her associates are heading for military defeat because they have already suffered ideological downfall. I think that the latter is clearly true, from the point of view of cause and effect as well as chronologically. I believe that it was the fact that the British, American and Russian peoples and those of the occupied countries rejected the ideas of Fascism so violently and thoroughly when the practical test came which has paved the way for Germany's military defeat. But for this Hitler would have won the war long ago. Now nothing on earth, no change in the material balance of power, could save him from defeat in the field for he has lost already the battle which is really decisive - the battle for men's minds and souls, a battle in which the heavily armed disciples of Fascism have been hopelessly worsted even by the unarmed devotees of all which Fascism outrages.

Even in Germany itself, I believe, that battle has been lost by the Nazis and nothing but the brute force of the S.S. and the Gestapo and the blind obedience of a few score thousand Nazi functionaries support the régime. Germany today is like a tree, rotten through and through, but held upright by its stout bark. Such a tree must crash when the gale hits it. The hurricane is about to strike it.

Four tendencies

JANUARY 16, 1944

Four healthy tendencies are to be found among all men dedicated to preserving and strengthening the life-giving qualities of their species. They are to be found in two sets of conflicting tendencies – a conservative reverence for the past and recognition of the value of its contribution, offset by a radical desire for reform and experiment. That is one of the sets of sometimes conflicting but easily synthesised tendencies among healthy-minded humans. The other, in many ways parallel, consists of the deep-rooted and very vigorous conservative sentiment of patriotic nationalism and the more radical tendency towards internationalism. These too sometimes conflict but can be and are being blended and are both healthy.

Hitler and his quisling puppets are the enemies of all these tendencies. They loathe all that is best in the past and have striven to destroy it: they detest the liberal faith in progress and never hesitate to murder its apostles; they deny the whole principle of national self-determination and persecute the patriots, and they work to prevent international co-operation by setting people against people. . . .

The men who serve Hitler in the vassal and conquered countries are drawn about equally from the ranks of those who in the past professed extreme nationalism and conservatism as a disguise for their readiness to betray their nations' future and past to the international Fascist revolution, and those who professed international Socialism as a cloak for their readiness to betray the ideal of international co-operation and social progress to German imperialism and social reaction. Among the men who help the Nazis to exploit and persecute mankind are those of the Left such as Doriot and Deat in France, who denounce decent respect for established values as plutocracy, and those of the Right, such as John Rallis in Greece and Neditch in Yugoslavia, who denounce any progressive tendency as Communism.

And against them are united all the real patriots, for whom love of nation is a living need which they would die rather than betray, but also work for co-operation between nations, all the true conservatives who treasure the past and fight to preserve its gifts but also believe in ordered progress, all the genuine internationalists who strive for a system of free and equal co-operation between peoples in which each can keep its liberty and separate identity and all the honest radicals who work for a new order which will preserve the best traditions of the past.

Today honest men of both main political tendencies, the conservative nationalist and the radical internationalist, can recognise each

other as friends and allies and they can recognise as equally the enemies of both, the traitors who serve Hitler, whatever their political professions.

A new unity for the future has been founded on a realisation of a common enemy and common loyalties to nation and to mankind.

Women and peace

MARCH 8, 1944

Many people, viewing with astonishment the tremendous part which the women of all the belligerent countries, with the exception of Germany, have played in carrying on the war, have asked the very natural question, 'What will be the role of women in keeping the peace?'

Now that they have assumed so important a position in a world at war, have come to their full stature as completely emancipated citizens in war conditions and have taken so kindly to war work of all kinds, including guerilla fighting and underground conspiracy, it may be feared that women may not be the stabilising and pacifying influence which they hitherto have been considered when, though they may have had the will to peace, they had not the power to secure it.

It is at least possible to argue that there are two methods in which those who want war can prevent women from interfering decisively in favour of peace. One is to keep them helpless in their homes while the war is being hatched, deprived of all influence in public life and fulfilling only the functions of cooks and bearers of children. This is the method adopted by Mussolini and Hitler and all their Fascist imitators and it has proved a dangerous one for latter-day war-mongers since in modern total warfare, the active and willing participation of women in the war effort is absolutely essential.

This has been proved in Britain and Russia where, but for the enthusiastic service of the women, the national war effort necessary for victory would have been impossible.

In Germany it has been fairly conclusively proved that, while the manhood of Germany could be conditioned to entering into the war with enthusiasm and continuing it with doggedness, the womanhood of the Reich, pushed into the background where they could not use any influence against the breaking of the peace, have, when called upon to assist in a war to which they have not been properly conditioned, proved extremely obstructive.

That method is not likely to be repeated by war-mongers.

The other method, of course, is to condition women to the idea of war as a glorious affair in the same way as men have been conditioned,

and I have no doubt that the German militarists and their neo-Fascist imitators elsewhere, will undertake this if they are allowed a chance of preparing for another war. Presumably, they will not get such a chance, but what of the victorious nations? Will, from the experiences of this war, there emerge a feminine jingoism, armies of amazons toughened and brutalised on guerilla battlefields, in the conspiratorial cellars of clandestine resistance, the factories, foundries, farms, the military canteens and the laverns? Will the women of the world, newly emancipated from their position of inferiority, grasp at power and embrace the use of force as a means to it, just when men are tiring of war?

It might well happen in these countries in which love of war and the spirit of aggression is a national heritage passed down from father to son through the mother and likely enough to be taken over by mother and daughter if father and son are cured of it. But in countries where the men have for long lost the desire to fight for fighting's sake, where the love of peace has long been deep and genuine, I cannot see the women reversing the whole trend of history, however gratifying their war-made importance and however exciting their war experiences have been. I don't think the women of the United Nations are likely to wish to break the peace. But will they be realistic enough, sufficiently conscious of the need for power behind policy, to play their proper role in keeping the peace?

This we shall see, but there is every reason to expect that the experience of the last five years will have reduced to a negligible quantity the number of those women who thronged Whitehall in 1938 to cheer hysterically a piece of paper offered to them as a pledge for peace in our time.

Greek liberties

MARCH 25, 1944

We British have shed a lot of blood in the past for the ideal of freedom which we inherited from ancient Greece, and we shall, I doubt it not, shed a lot more if anyone tries to deprive us of it. A continental visitor to this island in the 17th century described us as a turbulent people, much addicted to the strong wine of freedom. That was at a time when this addiction was about to plunge us into a period of internecine strife because the mass of the people rose against those few who, under foreign influence, tried to suppress liberty. Remembering those internal struggles of our own for freedom at a time when there was also a great menace from outside, we can well understand a certain turbulence in Greece today due to the fact that, however precious national unity against the alien oppressor may be, national unity at

the price of a sacrifice of liberty must seem meaningless. . . .

Greece has great calls upon our gratitude. Greece stood and fought when, elsewhere, no one but the British were in the field, and that is a comradeship which we shall not forget. But our gratitude has a foundation sunk more deeply in the history of mankind's struggle for freedom. Most of us have at the very roots of our education a knowledge of the standards which ancient Greece unfurled in the dawn of recorded history. And most of us remember the words which were written by Byron, who gave his life in the Greeks' struggle to raise aloft again those standards a hundred years ago :

'Blood will be shed like water, and tears will fall like mist, but the people will conquer in the end.'

Yes, the people will conquer in the end and we salute the Greeks, who have never been willing to compromise on this belief and who, clear-eyed, would never exchange the reality of an ineffective alien tyranny, which has merely nourished the love of freedom, for an illusion of liberty beneath the veneer of which despotism could again entrench itself.

We, in Britain, can recognise a people which really loves freedom in the same way that we do, with our minds as well as our hearts. We recognise such a people in the Greeks.

The Yugoslav example

MARCH 27, 1944

Just three years ago a great blow was struck by the common people for the common people in Yugoslavia. It was an act which, I believe, historians will recognise as among the most significant of our century, for on March 27, 1941, the Yugoslav peasants and workers, led by army officers who had not forgotten that their duty was to their nation and not to the governing clique, rose up and ended a régime which, under the guise of patriotism, had for years exploited its own people and made mischief among its neighbours. The Yugoslavs thus became the first people in the Balkans and Central Europe to repudiate the oligarchy which had for so long misruled it and was preparing to follow its fellow-oligarchies of Bucharest, Budapest, and Sofia and sell the nation to the Nazis.

In those days it seemed a quixotic deed, almost suicidal, for a people to take its destiny into its own hands and to set out to fight Fascism, but the Yugoslav people, so far from committing suicide, began to live in reality for the first time simply because it did take its destiny into its own hands. And what a destiny! One which has made Yugoslavia the

model for the whole Balkan and Central European area, an example of a people which has broken its fetters and fights lightheartedly and gaily for a future which it sees clearly and marches towards with irresistible resolution.

It is not surprising that Marshal Tito's Army of Liberation has proved a magnet for courageous men of all neighbouring countries who really want to fight Fascism, that there are in it Czechoslovaks, Bulgars and Hungarians, and even Austrians and Germans, that it is in touch with Rumanians, Albanians and Greeks. It is not surprising because its aims are those of all the simple people, who have seen through the fraud of petty power politics as played by the potentates who, posing as patriots, hastened to betray their peoples to the Nazis rather than see their own corrupt and oppressive régimes go under in a genuine patriotic uprising.

Let Yugoslavia now be an inspiration to all the peoples who have been cheated so long What power they have, those peoples upon whom the Germans and their puppets rely so much to see that the vital railways keep running, that the bridges are intact and that the precious food supplies are forthcoming.

Now is the chance to right generations of wrongs. The German Army and the lordlings it protects is in the hollow of their hands, those horny, toil-worn hands which can be made so hard a fist clenched for liberty.

Europe's thirst

APRIL 19, 1944

*'Poetry: it isn't true that when arms speak
Your singing voice is silenced.
Your life is eternal.'*

That was written by a poet in German-occupied Poland.

'Our job is to show that thought continues to live.'

That was written by a French contributor to the Underground Press.

It is in such phrases and sentences as these that we really find the secret of Europe's resistance to the Nazi New Order, rather than in the pathetically inadequate material means available to those engaged in the struggle.

At one time it seemed to those who had begun to despair of humanity that materialism had secured so complete a hold over men that the apparent economic benefits of National Socialism would succeed in seducing the peoples of Europe into abandoning their political liberties, their intellectual integrity and their spiritual values in return for the promise of material security.

Those who thought that, misjudged human nature and insulted humanity, and today they cannot fail to recognise this.

An equal calumny is the belief that the peoples of Europe today are so obsessed with the news of battles and bombings that they have no patience with the news of what is going on in men's minds in the free world and the enslaved.

We got a letter the other day from Spain, a country where, as elsewhere on the Continent, internal conditions are far from easy:

'I do not know if you are aware of the educational work which you are accomplishing through your microphone. You are teaching the citizens of all the countries of the world to be true democrats, making them see the real meaning of freedom, justice and democracy. This work will at the appointed time bring forth no small results, for from among the young listeners to the B.B.C. will arise the great men of tomorrow. Since I began to listen to the B.B.C. I am a different man. I have more strength with which to face everyday life and have formed a clearer concept of liberty. It is as though I were a student of a great university, taking an intensive course in politics, economics, ethics and religion. I am a better and more cultured democrat.'

That was only one of many similar communications emphasising how great is the thirst in Europe today for the things of the mind, a thirst which equals the physical hunger and the hunger for news of military moves which mean liberation. . . .

What the war has revived we must preserve in peace – the love of the things of the mind for their own sake and not simply as a technical training for a specialised job. When all men and women have had a broad, humane and liberal education, when all are historians and philosophers in some degree, then we shall have a lasting peace.

The First of May

MAY 1, 1944

The First of May, 1944, the fifth May Day of this terrible and yet, in some ways, glorious war, is drawing to its close and we are another day nearer to the great adventure – the liberation of the Continent of Europe from a domination representing the antithesis of all that May Day stands for, whether in the mind of the worker striving to give his children a better life than he has had or in the hearts of those children as they dance, according to immemorial custom, around the Maypole.

The First of May was a date associated with the festival of rebirth, of life and the promise of happiness, long before it was chosen as the day on which the toiling masses should demonstrate their faith and resolve

THE 'MAN IN THE STREET' - TALKS TO EUROPE

that there shall one day reign throughout the world an era of brotherhood between nations, of equality of opportunity and social justice for all men and women, and of liberty beneath a law established by common consent for nations and individuals.

May Day is the monopoly of no class or political party and never should have been. It is a day on which all should each year dedicate themselves to the renewal of that vital urge which drives man forward to higher and better things, that instinctive desire to look forward and march on which, controlled by the intellect and tempered by observance of the valid lessons of the past, results in ordered progress.

More than ever should that urge be at work within us today when we are about to embark upon a great undertaking which must be truly creative if it is not to become a mere holocaust of destruction. . . .

Our task now is to make certain that our victory in the great battle looming ahead on the Continent will be not merely a victory over Germany but one over all forms of reaction and obscurantism, of greed and selfishness, of cynicism and timidity, of decadence and defeatism, which, if they prevail again, as they did after the last war to make the world safe for democracy, will assuredly lead once more to a new form of Fascism and a new war.

We must make sure that the war which will rage in the countries of our allies is not regarded as just the latest, but not the last, episode in a secular conflict between rival Great Powers but is seen as a real crusade against evil forces not confined to one nation.

We know that, today, the eyes of Europe are fixed on this island, as they were in the Battle of Britain, then with somewhat desperate hopes that liberty would hold out at least here and now with faith that our return to the Continent will indeed mean real liberation. We tell our friends on the Continent: This is the same Britain as that in which the peoples of the Continent saw their sole hope of liberation in 1940. Power has not corrupted us, bombers have not made bullies of us, consciousness of Might has not driven out the desire for Right from our minds and those who have suffered and trusted will not have done so in vain.

We are aware of the stream of history - as manifested by the character of the liberation movements on the Continent - and we are also in that stream, and glad of it. We treat the coming assault as no mere military *tour de force* but as an event of political and even religious significance beyond any other which the world has witnessed for centuries.

We are no longer fighting solely to preserve what we have achieved. We fight now to give ourselves and the whole world the chance to add a worthy contribution to the work of our forefathers, to give a new impulse to the ordered progress which has taken man forward through the centuries, to take part in a great creative act.

